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CHALLENGE

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# CHALLENGE

*Works by the same Author*

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WARRIOR

BLOOD MONEY

THE W PLAN

THE VIPER OF LUXOR

EYE FOR AN EYE

THE GOVERNOR OF KATTOWITZ

LIFE WITHOUT END

SILESIA REVISITED

HISTORY OF THE THIRTY-THIRD DIVISION

IN FRANCE AND FLANDERS 1915-1919

ARYA: THE CALL OF THE FUTURE

# CHALLENGE

*by*

LIEUT.-COLONEL  
GRAHAM SETON HUTCHISON  
D.S.O., M.C.

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DEDICATED  
TO THOSE WHO DIED  
THAT  
BRITAIN MIGHT LIVE



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“**H**E who has been instructed thus far in the science of Love, and has been led to see beautiful things in their due order and rank, when he comes toward the end of his discipline, will suddenly catch sight of a marvellous thing, in its nature beautiful—and this, Socrates, is the aim and end of all those earlier labours—he will see a Beauty eternal, not growing or decaying, not waxing or waning; nor will it be fair here and foul there, nor depending on time or circumstance or place, as if fair to some, and foul to others: nor shall Beauty appear to him in the likeness of a face or hand, nor embodied in any form whatever . . . whether of heaven or of earth; but Beauty absolute, separate, simple, and everlasting; which lending of its virtue to all beautiful things that we see born to decay, itself suffers neither increase nor diminution, nor any other change.

“When a man proceeding onwards from terrestrial things by the right way of loving, once comes to sight of that Beauty, he is not far from his goal. And this is the right way wherein he should go or be guided in his love: he should begin by loving earthly things for the sake of the absolute loveliness, ascending to that as it were by degrees or steps, from the first to the second, and thence to all fair forms; and from fair forms to fair conduct, and from fair conduct to fair principles, until from fair principles he finally arrives at the ultimate principle of all, and learn what absolute Beauty is.

“This life, my dear Socrates, said Diotima, if any life at all is worth living, is the life that a man should live, in the contemplation of absolute Beauty: the which, when once you beheld it, would not appear to you to be after the manner of gold and garments or beautiful persons, whose sight now so ravishes you, that you and many others consorting with your lovers



forget even to eat and drink, if only you may look at them and live near them. But what if a man's eyes were awake to the sight of the true Beauty, the divine Beauty, pure, clear and unalloyed, not clogged with the pollutions of mortality, and the many colours and varieties of human life? What if he should hold converse with the true Beauty, simple and divine?

"O think you, she said, that it would be an ignoble life for a man to be ever looking thither and with his proper faculty contemplating the absolute Beauty, and to be living in its presence? Are you not rather convinced that he who thus sees Beauty as only it can be seen, will be specially fortunèd? And that, since he is in contact not with images, but with realities, he will give birth not to images, but to very Truth itself? And being thus the parent and nurse of true virtue it will be his lot to become a friend of God, and, so far as any man can be, immortal and absolute?"<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>From Plato's *Symposium*. Translated by Jowett, amendment by Robert Bridges.

## FOREWORD

THIS book is a Challenge to the existing state of affairs. I recommend neither Fascism nor Communism as a governmental principal with which to replace Injustice by Justice and with which to substitute Right in place of Wrong. Quite the contrary. I advocate the application of Christ principles in every sphere of governmental action through a perfected democratic system.

It is ridiculous for any man to assert, as I have frequently heard it said: "That is the ideal, no doubt. But it simply can't be done. You can't mix business with sentiment"—which is only another way of saying that the national life cannot be conducted in accordance with Christ principles. *It can. And it is going to happen.* It must be evident to Everyman, unless he deliberately closes his ears and eyes to what is going on around him, that the political and economic system under which we live is founded upon Wrong. It is equally evident that the results from such a system can, therefore, themselves only be wrong; and if wrong, then productive of misery, instability, cruelty and degradation. You cannot turn this book aside with a sneer or jeer, asserting that its Author is a "woolly-minded theorist", "an impractical idealist" or any such similar phrase, and for the reason that the Author has led a very practical life in a wide field of activity; and in the fields in which he has ventured he has attained success. What is here recorded and defined results from experience of many things, of diverse activities, of hosts of people of all kinds and in many lands: and it results from revelation.

This book is a challenge to the existing order. It defines the principles upon which a new order can be

enthroned, not in twenty years' time, but immediately. It outlines policies whereby starvation shall be replaced by reasonable comfort and security in the home, not for one class, but for the whole people. The application of these policies means the end of poverty, definitely and finally the end.

We are all National workers. If not, we have no claim or right to citizen life at all.

I recognize that it might have been sufficient to recite only principles. For the definition of policies invites controversy, and this is not the intention of the book. An indication of policies is included with the object of showing in what direction action must be taken in the short period which must necessarily intervene between the final acceptance of these principles by the nation and their final application. There can be no compromise as to principles. Wherever there exists power and energy, men and women, and groups of men and women, sincerely seeking for truth, no matter what their label, they must be used in the service of the Commonwealth.

The challenge is to make men change what is wrong for what is right. The challenge is to induce the leaders of the nation to base their decisions in governmental affairs, in Imperial policy, in Foreign policy, in Industrial policy, in Economic policy, in Social policy upon what is right, what is truly Christian. I do not mean the Christianity kept for Sunday; that of class patronage, bazaars, and pew rents; or that retained for churches and kept out of the Board-room.

This is an appeal to intellect and to instinct. You cannot reason about what is right or wrong: it is instinctive. Reason invites compromise, and if there is compromise in a principle, the principle itself perishes.

We have never even tried Christianity. And we have been punished, as it was foretold. A British National Government must infuse Christ ethics into every circumstance and activity of the National life.

This book, therefore, as a collection of co-ordinated essays and suggestions, reviewing the wide field of social activity and relationship between man and man, is the framework upon which can be erected a new state. It is going to happen. The state envisaged is a new state, which repeals all acts which are anti-social and re-enacts policies which are based on Right. It is not pretended that the policies outlined are fool-proof, or that they are either conclusive or inclusive. They are a sign-post, that is all.

We British people are going to lead the world in spiritual regeneration. Are you going to be in the vanguard?

One thing is perfectly certain, and this is that if government bases its policies upon what is right, it cannot go far wrong. In other words, such a government is bound to succeed. Men and women of goodwill in every walk of life will be attracted to its support and to its aid. Such a government will never lack the most expert advice. It can rely upon honourable advice, because if the advice so offered is dishonourable, then evil only can result, and those who sought to serve themselves and their vested interest rather than the community as a whole will suffer.

I challenge the existing order; and I invite other honest men and women in the land to support the challenge. A revolution, not of violence, will follow; and it is going to happen. I challenge the smug and the selfish. I challenge the coward. I challenge the rich and the privileged. I challenge the Nation to refuse Right as the principle of governmental action. I challenge Great Britain to reject Christ.

There is only one answer to the futility, to the cruelty and to the bankruptcy of the capitalist system. That answer is not Fascism, which will only perpetuate the absurdities of the capitalist system; and it is not the Financial Dictatorship for which some stand. It is not International Socialism, because this means conceding British standards of ethics and of life to those

which have not attained to our level; and International Socialism offers far too great an opportunity for exploitation by International Finance.

We must first regenerate ourselves: that is the duty of the nation. The British people must give a lead to the world; and the world will follow. On the basis of the Christian ethical principle we, as a Christian people, can establish the commonwealth which will be a pattern to the rest of the world. In these pages I give only truth as I know it, realize it, understand it, have seen it and have experienced it. The world will observe the British people and those entrusted to their care throughout the Empire attain to fresh heights of prosperity and of happiness through National regeneration. The world will learn, therefore, that the philosophies which are the guiding principle of the British governmental plan are the only ones which can secure happiness and prosperity for their own peoples. A Christian government in our time? Yes, it is going to happen.

If, then, you believe these things, make them known. Preach them from your pulpits! Proclaim them from your platforms! Speak of them among your friends and associates. Make this "Challenge" known. Here is a message for which your country yearns. Be true to the matchless traditions of the British race. Be true to thyself. Let Britain arise. Who marches with us? Let the voice of British people speak.

The details of the policies expressed, for our purpose, do not matter. The question is, are we going to take our stand upon a set of principles? If that is agreed, then it is time for *Action*.

Are we going to accept usury as the governmental principle? Do we stand for political murder, for strife between our own people and between the nations, for brothels, for corruption? Or are we going to fight for Right? Take it for granted that the same kind of people who preach the class war will preach war between the nations, and they do. Do we stand for



Human Comradeship? I do. *Challenge* sets out to interpret it.

. . . . .

I sometimes detach myself from a worldly world, seeking solitude. I climb to some eminence and from thence survey the wide English scape of fields and hedgerows, of wooded vales and nestling villages, in the distance the gaunt stacks of industry rising above a huddled city's life.

This is my motherland, from whose soil I have sprung and to which I shall return. Nature pursues her divinely appointed plan, and man, so futile in his wisdom, is at war with Nature herself. The teaching of her wondrous growth and orderly development are lost upon him: the very beauty of her forms and colours pass him by. The civilization which we have made is ugly in nearly all its forms. The woods, the flowers, the rich loam, the rolling downs, the billowed heavens, are pregnant with their eternal living message. And we reject them as we reject the Omnipotent.

British public life has become a moral morgue upon which are exposed the dishonoured reputations of the notorious: but theirs are not the names which made the Britain of our dreams and which brought hope to a suffering world. The hand of every man is against his neighbour: the voices of the spirit are stilled.

The hours of meditation enrich the spirit: they make clear every prospect, reveal the solution for each problem. These are hours with the Almighty.

It is a hard fight this one in the cause of Truth. Ignorance is an obstacle. Fear, greed and human selfishness seem to present barriers at every turn. When discouraged I seek meditation and return refreshed. This book results from revelation. There may never have been any "Angels of Mons". But lest men lose faith, let it be known that when Truth, Britain's last defence in the hour of need, has no other reserve with which to reinforce it, then do men discover

angels. They stand beside the "Warrior" with flaming sword, and whisper comfort in the ear of the wounded. Their power is undefeatable, their strength unquenchable. The spirits of the battlefield on which is fought out Right against Wrong, in Britain's crisis, will be all the generations of men of British blood, the hosts who, in some Valhalla of their own, out of cosmos, come again to make sure the unbroken destiny of their race.

The fine, clean manhood of Great Britain, whose sense of honour and of integrity has not been entirely debauched, must now arise and declare themselves. Not in secret, but wherever men are to be found. Women who are not willing that their children shall become slaves in their own land, declare yourselves!

"I teach you not a neighbour, but the friend," wrote Nietzsche. "Let the friend be for you the festival of earth and a foretaste of beyond-man. I teach you the friend and his too-full heart. . . .

"I teach you the friend in whom there standeth the world finished, a husk of the good—the creative friend who hath ever a finished world in his gift.

"And as for him, the world hath unrolled itself, so it rolleth itself up again in rings—being the growth of good out of evil, the growth of purpose out of chance. . . .

"Let the value of everything, therefore, be fixed anew by yourselves. Therefore ye shall be fighters. Therefore ye shall be creators."

The battle is joined—Challenge!

GRAHAM SETON HUTCHISON.

St. Albans.

December, 1934.



## AN AFFIRMATION

### THE MISSION OF THE BRITISH RACE REGENERATED

WE, men and women, old and young, who have before our eyes Britain's beauteous landscape—the blue haze of its valleys, the verdant green of its pastures, the spring gold of its moorland gorse, the rolling downs dotted with sheep, the heathered hills, the deep, silent woods carpeted with bluebells or tinted with russet of autumn loveliness——

WE, who scent the first buds of the English rose in June, and gather the perfume of wild flowers from hedgerows amid deep country lanes——

WE, who hear the magnificent peal of cathedral chimes; and, echoing across the fields, the bells from some old church tower, which tell of the immortality of Britain, or sometimes intoning of one who has gone to his rest in her bosom——

WE, who have given our father's blood, our brother's blood, and our children's blood that the great spirit of Britain shall bring knowledge, prosperity and peace among the peoples of the world——

WE, whose word has been our bond, to whom lies do not easily come, and to whom the sanctity of contract means our personal honour——

WE, to whom fair dealing as between man and man implies a moral integrity beyond the Penal Code——

WE, who inspired the freedom of mankind from slavery, and will not endure its imposition on ourselves——

WE, whose spirit responds to the profound and eternal truths traditional in the British character——

WE, whose genius has been inspired by the quiet grandeur, sculptured and painted by the Great Architect of this land——

WE, who are strong as the English oak, and whose endurance has been tested through a thousand years of history——

WE, who, through British strength, have conquered in every field of manly endeavour, have endured tropical suns and arctic frosts, have held the beleaguered trench, and have marched to the uttermost ends of the earth——

WE, whose name as Britons is written fairly upon the pages of history, and whose great figures occupy the forefront of a world's pageant——

WE, who have in our bones and blood the matchless tradition of these Islands——

WE, who cherish the ideals for which, in good times and bad, Great Britain has stood——

WE, summoning courage from the heart of our land in which it is vested——

WE DECLARE that we stand unmoved for the ideals which have inspired our race, and will go forward renewed, regenerated, united towards the great destiny which an unerring history contributes as our right.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

SECTION I  
GOVERNMENTAL PRINCIPLES

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# CHALLENGE

## PERSONALITY

**I**N order to prepare itself for efficient service, Government must count in its ranks men competent to be the intellectual and spiritual leaders of the nation and competent to train successors for leadership. Great Personalities make great Nations. And great personalities must be left measurably free to express themselves, each in his own way, if they are to reach a maximum of efficiency.

The free man is he who has a largeness of view which is unmistakable and which permits him to see the other side; a knowledge of the course of man's intellectual history and its meaning; a grasp of principles and a standard of judging them; the power and habit of reflection firmly established; a fine feeling for moral and intellectual distinctions; and the kindliness of spirit and nobility of purpose which are the support of genuine character.

The distinction between Government and Administration requires restatement. Government is the establishment of principles, laws, policies; and Administration is the carrying out and executing of these principles, laws, policies. Both Government and Administration are two distinct functions. Special types of men are needed for each, and in the former, personality counts for more than all else.

Government must not follow, it must lead. Government must not seek for popularity, it must remain true to principle. Government must not sacrifice its governmental principles either through fear of criticism or abuse or through hope of favours and of gain. The Leadership of Government cannot be attained from the crowd: if that were so, it would be but to follow.

### *Government Must Lead*

The British Government in the end dares not be false to the great traditions of the British race. Great Britain has witnessed the decline and fall of empires, the discovery of continents and new lands, and one revolution after another in the intellectual, social and political life of man. The responsibility of the British people was never so heavy as it is to-day. Great Britain has only to remain true to its high tradition, only to hold fast to inflexible purpose, only to continue to nourish a disciplined liberty, to make it certain that the British Empire will remain to serve mankind when all the gross structure of materialism will have crumbled and rusted into dust.

The same type of mind which insists that it knows no country but humanity, and that one should aim to be the citizen of no state but only of the world, indulges itself in the fiction that one may be disloyal to one's own children which he has voluntarily begotten in order to show devotion to something that he conceives to be higher and of greater value. Both contentions affront common sense and are the result of that muddled thinking which in these days is arrogant enough to misuse the noble name of philosophy. This type of mind is of alien origin and by making clamorous use of the watchword of liberty has dinned the listeners' ears to all but licence.

### *The Sense of National Obligation*

Alien and materialistic influence in British affairs demonstrably has weakened the ties of Empire, has occasioned strife, material loss, much human suffering, a degradation of British character and a debasement of British institutional life to a degree as great as it is hideous.

One effect of much recent teaching of what once was ethics—Christian ethics—is to weaken all sense of obligation of every kind except to one's own appetites and desire for instant advantage. Yet little more than



a decade ago men had come to believe that shed blood was better than a bank balance.

Men of mature years who have achieved reputation enough to be invited to occupy a post of responsibility in the so-called National Government ought not to have to be reminded that there is such a thing as traditional National obligation and that they fall short of it.

That economic determination which is confuted every time a human heart beats in sympathy and which all history throws to the winds has in recent years obtained much influence among those who, for lack of a more accurate term, call themselves intellectuals. These are for the most part men who know so many things which are not so that they make ignorance appear not only interesting but positively important. They abound in popular journalism, in democratic politics and they are not without representation in Government office.

The time has not yet come, however, when rational persons can contemplate with satisfaction the rule of the literary and political Bolsheviks or permit them to seize responsibility for the cultural and governmental life of the British nation, even less, for so we recognize our high responsibility, for that of the British Empire.

It is noteworthy that instances of the lack of a sense of National obligation rarely arise in the case of those men whose intellectual occupations bring them in touch with real things and the inspiring humanness of ordinary men.

### *Inspired Leadership*

The responsibility of Great Britain is doubly great because of its resources, because of its equipment, because of its opportunity, because the world has a right to expect that greatness, not meanness, will come from a land whose past declares greatness, and because now may be the last opportunity for men of the same racial origins and culture to give formal expression of system and method in the inspired Leadership of their fellow men.

## TRUE PATRIOTISM

FREEDOM is safe on a foundation of strength. This is a thought of vital importance when we consider the problems of the day.

We must prove by our bearing in the presence of the problems of the future that freedom is also safe on the foundations of reasonableness, of sympathy and of justice. Those who offered their lives during the Great War were called upon to offer their minds and their bodies. The sacrifices of war are over, but the sacrifices of peace, as it appears, are now only but begun. These are sacrifices that will put behind us selfishness, greed and a willingness to exploit the souls and the bodies of other men. These are sacrifices which will turn our minds away from bigness, from numbers and from mere accumulations, to character, to quality and to spiritual power.

### *Those Who Served*

Patriotism will not be superseded by sentimentalism. Patriotism will have both a deeper and a finer meaning than it has ever had before. Love of country will not grow less, but greater, because of the demands that each country has made upon its sons and their ready and willing response to its call. A new international order will not supersede nations; quite the contrary. It will build upon them. The part which each free nation can play in the new international order will depend primarily upon its own self-consciousness, its own self-respect, its own pride, and its own zeal for service.

There can be no lasting peace without justice, and justice is the only sure, the safe and quick path to durable peace.

*Those Who Came After*

These truths are pregnant with hope for the youth of the world, as they are also the certain condemnation of a class of sentimentalist, utilized by the war-mongers. It is frequently asserted that youth is apt to hold itself aloof from popular interests and movements and to view from one side the active life of our community. This impression is not, I think, a just one, for it is from youth largely that Social revolt finds its support. If Education and training are to unfit men mentally for sympathetic participation in the everyday life of the nation, then the less education and training that we have, the better. In that case we are starving the soul to feed the mind. But Education of to-day is not of this kind. It is insistent in its demands for practical education, for service, for human sympathy.

There is no true, live gospel but the gospel of hope, the gospel of belief. "Revolution" may be regarded as some kind of a university, which would put upon its graduates the stream of earnestness, not faltering; of enthusiasm, not indifference; of hope and cheerfulness, not of despair and gloom; of active interest in our fellow men, and not supercilious contempt for them and their affairs.

*Cheerfulness, Hope, Honesty, Tradition*

I would rather have this great company of students, the youthful members of new "Movements", face the world with cheerfulness and hope and with complete honesty than endowed in any other way. We live under the shadow of a great tradition. For many centuries it has been slowly forming. Lives without number have been built into it. The years have crowned it with power and with beauty. It is a branch of something far older, that runs back till it loses itself in the beginnings of all things. It marks the rise and dominance of the human spirit. In these Movements you come under its influence, apart from the shabby bickerings of the market-place and the false promises of mere politicians

who would steal the heart and destroy intellectual integrity. May each one in his own way be a bearer of this tradition. Mere success, as the world judges success by outward signs, I pass by. It is not worth having, save as an incident to usefulness. The objective of the new revolt, however named, is a State of Service. The State is the guarantor of security, both internal and external, but it is also the custodian and transmitter of the spirit of the people, as it has grown up through centuries in language, in customs and in faith. The citizen of such a State conceives of life "as duty and struggle and conquest, life which should be high and full, lived for oneself, but above all for others, those who are at hand and those who are far distant, contemporaries and those who will come after".

## THE CALL TO SERVICE

*We want men! Never more urgently did the country require them than to-day. Men of proven experience, capacity, energy, understanding of industrial problems; sympathetic with the aspirations, hopes, fears, anxieties, and life of the people: Men well educated, with a knowledge and sense of geography, history, international relationship; men up-to-date, progressive, neither the victims of taboos, nor the slaves of worn-out dogmas: Men physically fit, Spartan in habit, who will not destroy the body and brain with an excess of food, tobacco and alcohol: Men who possess in their blood and bones the matchless tradition of the English, Scottish and Welsh countryside; men of courage, capable of sacrifice, willing to incur disfavour, social ostracism, loss of position, for a faith, for a belief, for a conviction; men to whom desire for property, possessions, profits, material gain, does not govern their integrity. Men who are not ashamed to testify that they believe in something bigger than life.*

If, in the present age, Great Britain is incapable of producing such men, the British must occupy a back seat in the councils of the world, and our people become a slave race. Because, quite certainly, if we continue to drift, as we have drifted since the War, that is our destiny.

The War deprived our country of the cream of a generation, who to-day, seventeen years after, would have been its leaders in every walk of life. Some from that lost generation remain. Most have been damned and despoiled, slandered and thrust aside. Yet, remember that as in no other generation in history they have emerged from the crucible refined. They were capable of leadership. Surely to-day they are infinitely more



so. Were men sent through hell for no purpose? Those who served in the front lines had no quarrel. They have no quarrel now. British, German, French, Italian front-line soldiers can be trusted to keep the peace. Can the old men, the crafty plotters who made the War and bungled the peace, be so trusted? Not a bit of it! You have seen the results of their work.

### *A Comradeship*

One may search our own political parties in vain to discover a new outlook, new men. We see in each one of them the same faces, find the same names as played in the Lobbies before the War, who occupied office during its continuation, and in coalition signed the Treaty, who are committed to its fulfilment. Their conception after the War was a "return to normal", when any man of vision could have told them that that was the one thing impossible—The Master of Ceremonies, Moloch! But it was this very conception which was rejected by those who had suffered the anguish of wounds, the horror of bombardment, the bitterness of imprisonment, the dread of the unknown, and the shock of being uprooted from the placid peace of English life. Among them was founded a Comradeship, transcending all commonplace emotion. From out the crucible came men, willing, eager to fulfil in British social structure the ideals which through years of sacrifice they had both learned and sustained.

### *The Financial Highwayman*

It is a plain fact that Great Britain is in a receding economic position. Yet this is the moment chosen by politicians to stagnate trade, and to stultify individual genius and capacity by crushing legislation. This is the very essential genius from which the mass of the people acquire prosperity. Rather than turn their attention to flagrant abuses of commercial usage and of personal liberty, successive Governments, by specious propaganda, have sought to impose greater



restrictions on liberty, while the "Financial Highwayman", the real destroyer of industry and of the home, is free to do as he pleases.

We, who have seen light, are not going to do anything without the most careful thinking and planning, and without calling to our assistance everything of a progressive character which is being done. But much of this thinking and planning has already been done. The machinery is ready. It awaits only driving force. No one but parasites and rogues need have any fear that from any action of ours anything but increased happiness will ensue.

It is absurd to suppose that it is beyond the wit of man to devise a system whereby the productive and consumptive capacity of the population shall be related. There are hundreds of thousands of people living below or at starvation level: there are other millions wholly unemployed, on part time, or eking out an existence selling goods on commission or what-not. Money, prices, credits are arbitrary questions, controlled alone by man. It is absurd that our farmers cannot sell the produce of our land, when people are starving; it is ridiculous that thousands in Great Britain's industrial centres should be out of work, should be unemployed, with all the misery and anxiety involved in idleness, when, for example, there are thousands without decent shirts to their backs; and it is monstrous that miners should not get coal, with factories starved of this essential raw material. The money system, perhaps, is the most useful device of civilization, invented as a token, the medium of exchange of labour and services. It is not a commodity to be bought and sold and to be hired in usury.

*At this moment we need Men! Efficient, experienced, courageous; untied by prejudice or party; who neither for greed nor self-advancement, nor yet from bitterness, are within the folds of an existing organization; who physically are fitted to compete with long hours of work, with grave problems and anxieties; serene in*

*mind, possessing a sense of humour and of proportion; sympathetic, understanding; capable of reflection, quick in decision; not easily discouraged, inflexible in action.*

Great Britain has produced such men in the past. They are with us to-day.

### *You Can Fool the People . . .*

Democracy, as it is understood and applied in the modern state, is incapable of grappling with the problems which present themselves. I stand by the democratic principle which in its final expression absorbs the aristocratic principle. But a perfected, purged, democratic system will be very different from the so-called democracy of the existing Electoral system. In the electoral process no clear issue upon any subject is ever presented. No man, without making concessions to his common sense or to his conscience, can possibly work within any of the existing parties.

No man, understanding the British public, in touch with it in every strata of society, can fail to realize that the modern Parliament as it is conducted gives expression neither to its ideals nor to its needs. The people must be served or the people will discover for itself a new form for the interpretation of its will. You cannot eternally side-track questions of bread and butter, of injustices which gnaw at the very vitals of individual liberty, by pledging adherence to this league or to that, by chattering of higher education, or by promising ten bob per week for widows. . . . "You can fool the people . . ."

It is Government which disposes social organization, is responsible for a people's welfare, and by legislation may control its activity for a decade or an age. Similarly, by inactivity, by inattention to the desperate needs and *spiritual urge* of a people, the Government may cast a Nation into depression, may deprive it of vitality, may sap its national genius. *A succession of*

*such Governments will reduce even the most virile of peoples to the position of a slave race.*

But one thing is certain. The British Empire, our civilization, with all its imperfections and yet immense possibilities for perfection, *will last just as long as its spiritual basis remains a living and effective force—and no longer.*

Human relationship is suffering a slow vitiation. The same estrangement between friend and friend, parent and child, teacher and pupil, husband and wife, master and man, pastor and congregation, intrudes itself in every circumstance of that relationship.

The demagogue's "Home for Heroes" has declined to a drab tenement for the mass. The British people, under the pressure of Big Business organizations, economic monopoly, and the mass hypnotism of publicity—now cunningly concealed as "Planning"—has had stolen from it the freedom, the power of decision, the willing will which but seventeen years earlier had, in all the history of mankind, never more fully been spiritually possessed.

### *The National Worker's Fight*

It is nobody's business to make an effort. With the cessation of the cannon's roar spiritual impulse has ceased to beat. *It is the business of a National Worker movement to make this effort. It is our policy to pursue these ends relentlessly, as a fight, until victory is secured.*

Between the "old men" and ourselves there is a gap not, say, of twenty years, but of a hundred years. Both the psychological outlook and the material facts of the years between 1910 and 1930 establish this contention wholly beyond dispute. We have no use for grey-beards, grey ideas, grey theories. The prejudices, beliefs, systems, organizations, fears of the old gang for ourselves mean little or nothing. We have faith in ourselves and in our race.

## SHAPING POLICY

FROM the emotional consideration, set out in the "Affirmation", we come to the realization that no policy can be an effective National policy which is not at the same time an Imperial policy. Both the obligations which we have incurred, and our national standard of life, depend absolutely upon the character of the Imperial policy which must be our own. The effect of the Treaty of Versailles and of post-war conditions throughout the world has been to set up new political States behind protected tariff walls. It may take several years of negotiation to change what have become the economic policies of most of the countries with whom we trade. Whether the British race have an Imperial duty or not, apart from purely ethical considerations, we are compelled largely to look for trade expansion, and therefore for the re-absorption of our population in industry, within the Empire. This is so at the moment, and will remain so until other nations have agreed, as they will agree, to change their financial technique in concert with our own. No one with any knowledge of the facts can possibly deny this.

### *No Pattern from Italy or Germany*

It is, therefore, the veriest nonsense for anyone to imagine that a new National Policy can be modelled upon the Fascism of Italy, or upon the Policy of the National Socialist Party of Germany. Mussolini himself declared with wisdom: "Fascism is not for export." This is not to say that Fascism does not merit close examination, and that perhaps certain forms which have been found useful within Italy shall not be adapted to our own use. The National Socialism of Germany differs from Fascism, and is not to be confused with it. But, in principle, both the psychology

of the British race and our Imperial obligations impose upon Leadership a wholly different task from that of any one of the states of Europe. We live in a revolutionary era. Forms must change.

### *India and Africa*

The British Empire may be said to consist of Minorities, sometimes racial, sometimes political. Where, for example, there is a political minority as in India, with its 353 million people, whose numbers so immensely overshadow our own, it is clear that the Imperial Policy which we must define must meet those people firstly in a spirit of mutual confidence and respect. Without this confidence, there will be no trade. A corner-stone in the edifice of Empire, India will, without such confidence, become not only weak and actually crumbling, but a positive danger to the whole structure. The same implication is discovered in the position of all other racial minorities within the Empire. One may consider, for example, the position of the Dutch in Rhodesia, or of the Jews in Great Britain. Here again are minorities. The Dutch of the Union of South Africa—one only has to remember such names as Botha and Smuts, former Prime Ministers—enjoy political predominance: the British are both politically and racially in an inferior position; while the black population is immensely superior in numbers to the white, but politically inferior. Enough has been said on this point to suggest that in the consideration of an Imperial policy the closest attention must be paid to the aspirations and traditions of minorities, whether considered politically or in racial numbers. The backward must be taught also to conform to the tempo of Imperial progress as a whole. I recognize no colour bar; no barrier of blood, of caste.

It does not matter to me what coloured skin happens to be the outer covering of any body. I infinitely prefer the friendship and companionship of a cultured Indian gentleman to that of a whisky-sodden Englishman who



may or may not be a good polo player. I prefer an honest Sudanese peasant tilling his fields to a usurer squeezing and grabbing his profits. You cannot run an Empire, you have no right to run an Empire, especially the British Empire, if you are going to set up colour as the bar to human charity. It is how people act which matters, whatever their colour and by whatever religious name they may just now be defined—Moslem, Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Parsi, Confucian.

### *Bolshevik Destruction Means Starvation and War*

This rough sketch will make it clear that policies of Imperial disintegration, severing economic and social ties, cannot possibly serve the interests of our own people, to whom, with a vast industrial population, such disintegration may mean starvation and anarchy. Disintegration for the Empire implies a kindling of the fires of fierce nationalisms, followed by inter-tribal wars, bloodshed, and the destruction of the very peace which British rule has given. That is as plain as a pike-staff. The Bolshevik policies are urged by the enemies of Great Britain, many of whom are but agitators employed by foreign enemies, the object being to destroy the British Empire, so that some other power can take over the material advantages stripped of British ideals which have inspired the British public services throughout the world.

In neither the Conservative nor the Liberal Parties is there any true Imperial Policy, unless exploitation and usury are to be called an "Imperial Policy". Vested interests, but especially the predominance of International Finance in all political considerations, does not permit any kind of forward constructive policy in Imperial affairs.

### *The Crown Colonies*

In confirmation of this statement, the over emphasis given to Palestine by succeeding Governments is a



glaring example. During the past four years, the British Exchequer has provided Palestine with £15,325,824. Further, in 1927, the Government backed the Palestine Loan of £4,475,000 and has backed a new loan for £2,000,000. In the same period, the British Government has provided grants or lent to the British Colonial Empire only £3,000,000. In the forefront of true policy will be the development of our Crown Colonies and Protectorates. The Dominions, generally, can look after themselves. But they must be brought more closely within the economic Empire, whose political tempo will characterize the whole.

The British Empire is not uniform. It cannot, therefore, be uniformed. There is a psychological lesson of deep significance to be learned from this statement. The intelligent observer can see also that the problems which face modern Germany are very different from our own. Within the Nazi State, as within the Fascist Italy, Minorities cannot yet receive the same tolerance as is our duty and convenience to contribute to Minorities within the British Empire. Such tolerance is also the only hope of progress, as it is the sheet-anchor of Empire. We observe, therefore, in Germany, and, for example, in the Italian Tyrol, an imposition of force, which is bound to shock British temperament. Leaving aside the human curiosities who affect Bolshevism, Atheism and similar habits as a cult, it may astonish some that many "intellectuals" who are neither Bolshevik nor in the pay of financiers express their horror that Bolshevik liberty has been curtailed in Italy and Germany. The people are almost invariably introverts or otherwise odd pathological cases. An assault upon the intellectuals of any country appears as an attack upon their own self-sanctified uniqueness. This is quite clear, and such a state of mind accounts for much of the shrill over-emphasis which we find in the columns of the Press and in the debating club. It requires an understanding of the political and economic situation,

of human psychology and of policies on the spot, to appreciate the necessity for a policy in one country which may be distasteful to the purpose and policy of another. A stronger Germany in Central Europe can only prove of immense advantage to the world, and a strong bulwark against militaristic adventures. This consideration we should keep in the forefront of our minds, because, in the end, the security of our own people and the safety of the British Empire will probably depend upon this factor.

## LIBERTY

### *The New Birth of Freedom*

HUNDREDS of thousands of Englishmen seem to imagine that men can be made happy and prosperous and rich and virtuous by law. That notion has since the War taken hold of a great part of our population. It represents the maximum of interference by government with private industry and private undertaking, and it is based upon an hypothesis that is absolutely groundless.

The only way in which a human being can arrive at any one of these fortunate conditions is by his own initiative and his own self-directed effort. There is no alternative to liberty. Men have tried everything else. They have tried autocracy. They have tried despotism. They have tried the tyranny of Bolshevism. They all tell the same story. Liberty has its evils; liberty has its imperfections. Remedies for both can be found by honourable and courageous men.

Our problem is to preserve the largest measure of liberty by making full use of our opportunities ethical, and so filled with the spirit of service that we meet the demand which comes for government suppression and government regulation, by such a revelation of conditions and purposes and methods as will make that demand answer itself.

Morality in business, the spirit of service in business, fair play in business, will do more to prevent the development of government restriction upon private enterprise than any amount of preaching, any amount of propaganda, or any amount of legal or theoretical appeal.

We must not overlook our responsibility for government. After all, that government is what we make

it or permit it to be. It rests with ourselves to change government to a form of our own choosing if we will. Nor is there any necessity to pattern such a government of change upon forms borrowed from Italy, from Germany or elsewhere. We are the greatest of all World Peoples. The problem of government, of liberty itself, is at bottom moral and psychological, a sufficient answer to those who in desperation would apply an alien technique. The need of the hour is Leadership—one of Spartan simplicity, and of wide sympathy, without fixed affiliations to theories, “isms”, or Parties; of high courage, possessed of an overflowing sympathy with the under-dog. Practical, liberty-loving, firm in purpose, inflexible in action.

Nor is liberty license. Of that there has been enough. There will be no liberty on the highway of human progress for the financial gangster, none for the false propagandist who would sow dissension between man and man. And that kind of license will have no liberty within the purged state within the grasp of British people. Prized and priceless liberty will receive the protection of its instinct and inheritance.

The protection and preservation of life does not mean police and military protection alone, but economic protection. The duty of government is to protect the citizen life in all its circumstances, and it thus secures the individual liberty of each citizen. It protects the citizen against subversive influences which may degrade the cultural momentum of the nation and reduce its morality. Government will do all those things which can be better achieved collectively, or by the nation as a whole acting through its varied executives, than by the individual citizen or by a group of citizens acting in a sectional interest. This is true democracy.

Society will build its institutions upon human genius, aspiration and inspiration, too, after the people have been fed and housed. Human co-operation and eager

interest always produces a better product than do wage slavery and pressed labour.

We will not change the present government as government. We will make it serve you for the purposes for which our forefathers originally set it up.

Farmers, miners, instead of being held down by economic pressure at the lowest end of the social scale, shall be among those highly rewarded, for truly they get national wealth from bounteous Nature. Producers of all kinds, craftsmen and those safeguarding the national life, will equally receive the just reward. No more economic lash, when our job is done: no workhouse methods: no Soviet tyrannies and food queues.

Initiative, industry, frugality, sacrifice, will be encouraged and rewarded from the national wealth, owned and controlled by the nation, and not by a reward which permits man to enslave his neighbours. Service will determine the grades of workers and their reward, not upon any arbitrarily decided formula, but by common democratic consent.

The genuine captains of industry will be captains yet. But the Financial conspiracy will have gone. Statesmen, inventors, stars in the artistic firmament, will still be born in humble homes and rise to heights sublime in the esteem of their countrymen. But poverty will have disappeared. Honours will be honourably won, the just reward. The would-be Dictators, the pinchbeck politicians, will be laughed out of British public life; the Hatrys, the Leopold Harrises, will be looking for jobs.

Men and women will find joy and pride in the Christian freedom of such a real workers' state.

It is not inappropriate to recall the fact that it was no less acute an observer of human nature and of all human history than Voltaire who pointed out that most governments that have disappeared came to their end through suicide.

We are unqualified foes of the system of subserviency to International Finance to which many institutions in Great Britain are succumbing. We shall fight it to the death. The British nation, under God, *is* going to have a new birth of freedom. True liberty will be found in the true Christ democracy.



## A STATE OF SERVICE

### *Co-operative State of Service*

"PARTY Socialism" exists only as a hatred. Class War is its doctrine. The "Socialism" of the kind which immediately after the War I accepted as my political doctrine, and on which I spoke from many political platforms, is of an entirely different order. It denounces the gloomy thesis of Karl Marx; envisages a co-operative State of Service to the State. It excludes no class of worker; it includes all. The Class warfare on both ends of the scale is destructive. The social construction which I proclaim is constructive. *It is based upon a living spiritual force*, without which the co-operative State of National Service and Culture cannot come into being, and cannot afterwards exist.

### *Action*

The urgent, willing will is essentially one of action. I have no theories. *True Movements will be built from men and women possessed of spiritual force*, who are deeply imbued with the traditions of our race, and whose care is to carry them forward to a higher plane of moral and material achievement both within our own country and throughout the Empire. The Leaders of this Movement will come from all ranks of workers, from men trained and experienced in Government and administration, from men who have honourably served the Empire and who have cared for its peoples, and from the Trade Unions. No theories but a regard for History, and Principles fixed in Imperishable Philosophy.

### *Spiritual Force*

The actions of the Leaders of the new Movement will not be influenced by finance, nor by personal gain.

The driving force of the Movement is national achievement and service for others. It is the intention—and there will be no compromise as to this—that the National Workers' State shall devote the whole of the energies and spiritual force of its citizens and its entire material resources to the creation of higher standards of culture and of greater prosperity for the citizens of the Empire. Within the movement there exists the essential recognition of leadership, and, therefore, of the inequality of man, inequality recognized by Nature and by scientific law. Nevertheless, within the State the contribution of each and all to the State shall be equal in accordance with capacity. The duty of the State will be to produce opportunity and environment in which men may be born and grow with equality, each developing according to capacity and to virtue.

### *Distinctive Political Force*

The National Movement cannot be one of super-politicians who for so long have dazzled Parliamentary Constituencies. It is not one of plutocrats, admirals, and generals. It combines the spirit which made Italian Fascism a living force and translated it into a dynamic Government with the forces which actuated the resurgence of Germany. But a National Workers' Movement is neither a repetition, in theory or in form, of Mussolini's Fascist State, nor of the regenerated Germany led by Adolf Hitler. The circumstances of this country are different; the psychology of the British people is different; our Imperial obligations, both towards those of the British race and towards many others, contribute to the National Workers' Movement a distinctive political complexion. Great Britain is possessed of a centuries' old political Constitution. It must be purged. It may require repair and improvement. We shall resist any attempt to overthrow the Constitution by whatever means. That is the plain answer to Financial Dictatorship by Bank battalions

and to the "Shirt Brigades", whose objectives are suspicious, if obscure, but whose "rank and file" are no doubt, if ignorant, animated by high purpose.

### *The Design of Policy*

Industry and trade are the life blood of the people. The first national duty, therefore, is to secure, maintain and extend trade. Without such extension, *and a financial system designed to its needs*, neither culture nor recreation are tolerable; and they cannot be made to serve their true elevating purpose within the State. The concern of the National Workers' Movement is first, therefore, with the industry and trade of the country. There are no theories, as for example those which characterize the existing Parliamentary Political Parties, because within the National Workers' Movement there are no vested interests which must be served. There are no divided and mutually opposed groups within the National Workers' Movement of, for example, manufacturers, importers, bankers, land-owners, the several workers' organizations, and so forth, whose separate interests can exert pressure either financial or of numbers of votes upon Policies. The State is one whole.

The National Workers' Movement is designed for Government, not in a Party interest, but in a National interest, and, unlike other National Governments of to-day, it is not, and cannot be, subservient to International Finance. Its relationship with other world peoples will be personal, not financial.

The kind of Liberalism of which Parliamentary Democratic Government is the expression, and which expresses itself in democratic form throughout the Conservative, Liberal and Labour Parties, is dying. The National Workers' Movement is opposed absolutely to its political theories and to its expression. An expert Assembly will supersede Parliament. Parliamentary Constituencies will cease to exist. The need of the country is to have, in its Councils, men and women

who are experts, not men and women who, inexperienced, offer themselves as Candidates for the suffrages of Constituencies, ready to speak platitudes on any and every subject under the sun. The result of this system has been that Parliament is deprived of experts, where the National Council should consist exclusively of experts who can be called together for the solution of any problem given by the Cabinet. To such a solution the Cabinet, being the Government, can then give expression in terms of ordinance, having regard to the needs and requirements both of the Nation and of the Empire as a whole.

### *Trade Unionism within a National Movement*

*Trade Unions are, therefore, of first importance to a National Workers' Movement.* The socialization of industry, of the type which the intelligentsia of the Socialist Movement contemplates, can end only in the further stagnation of industry and in the destruction of the Trade Unions themselves: *and quite a number of them know it.* International Socialism, whether centred in Moscow, or camouflaged somewhere else, which every year has extended its influence in this Trade Unionism, will exterminate the Trade Unions. The Class War, advocated by some Trade Union leaders, demonstrates that these frothy Socialists are concerned alone with utilizing the Trade Union machinery to serve their own purposes, now clarified as a Dictatorship. Trade Unionism has as its first objective the legitimate protection of the Workers' interest inside their own craft. The logical and right development which Trade Unions should seek is full participation in the management, economy and prosperity of industry. Nationalized Industry in the National interest will be the result. Eternal fights over questions of wages and hours alone cannot possibly constitute unified industry. To fight the Capitalist system as such, that is a different matter; but you can't fight the Capitalist system by kicking

up Hell in one establishment or in one industry. Show the country that nationalized industry, as opposed to one conducted in the interests of shareholders and foreign brokers, is more efficient and will produce greater happiness and better goods, and the battle is won. Trade Union leaders must be of the Councils of a true National Movement. They will be experts. They will be tried and tested men; they will not be the wind bags of political platforms; they will not be in the pay of secret agencies, serving alien interests as journalists and by their vote in the House. They will be leaders and Counsellors, fulfilling the highest objective of Trade Union organization and ethics. But this is not the Class War.

Equally in Council will be found experts representing the professions, as well as others whose services and experience of the Empire and of foreign lands, entitle them to voice the needs of industry, trade, the professions, and the Empire as a whole.

### *The Guild Spirit*

The growth and development of Trade Unionism in Great Britain, to any student of industrial organization, is one of the most interesting and sometimes inspiring studies. But of what use is Trade Unionism if not to lead?

The Guild spirit does not insist upon the election of secretaries, who themselves become the voice of the Trade Unions. Quite the contrary. *A leader who is bound by a system of counting heads is dispossessed of leadership. He follows the crowd: he must bow down to the mass. He can take no decision such as a leader should and must take: he must always refer back.* The working people of this country cannot be served by such a system. Time after time it has been proved that they have not been served. The Trade Union Secretaries very often have sat down on their salaries, with comfortable Parliamentary positions, hobnobbing with club men, while the mass are out on



strike, one which has been called by the leaders. Very seldom has any strike proved anything other than wholly abortive, and the workers have returned, after suffering losses and starvation, to conditions no better than before. The industries in which they have been engaged have lost valuable contracts and have suffered dislocation.

### *Profits from Strikes*

On the other hand, the financiers, those who profit from free imports and juggle with the Foreign Exchanges, have made large profits from the strike. It is more than a rumour that some of the so-called Trade Union Leaders, from their privileged position in London, have themselves profited by Stock Exchange deals as the result of such strikes.

A tremendous assault is being made by some of the British Trade Union Leaders against the Hitler Government, because, as it appears, he has destroyed the Trade Unions. A similar assault was made upon Mussolini. *The acid test of Trade Unionism is the added happiness and prosperity which it achieves for the workers.* The workers are the most emphatic supporters of both Hitler and Mussolini. Both have increased the workers' status. Criticism outside this aspect appears extraneous.

If it is necessary or desirable to change the name of Trade Unionism, what is in a name? It is the organization of men and of women which matters. What matters further is that organizations, built by the careful thought and frugality of our forefathers, shall be used in the interests of the British nation, of the mass of the working population; and I repeat that these organizations exist, and in a true National Government will be used, in the interests of the British people and not in those of International Finance.

### *Non-political Trade Unions*

Trade Unionism falls into its proper place within



the hierarchical system. It will cease to be political, because as a political organization, it is no longer necessary, except in so far as its leaders play their part in the leadership of Government. Its International affiliations, which imply revolutionary work on behalf of International Finance, will cease. They have achieved nothing on behalf of British labour; nor have they served the interests of any other nation. On the contrary, what we have witnessed in Austria, Spain, France, Rumania, and in other countries, results from the subversive work of International Socialism, financed by International Capitalism, and it has brought only distress among the mass of the people.

It follows, therefore, that the conduct of Foreign Policy will be simplified. In at least three of the great European States there are now great Personalities, men representing the people, men of vision, creative faculty and of integrity: men who, if they cheat their people cannot fall back with the excuse of "Cabinet responsibility", but must be held guilty to account for their misdeeds; men who can themselves decide National Policy.

### *Personality brings peace*

Granted a truly National Government, the representatives of at least three great nations, and those which are primarily concerned with the peace of Europe, could meet together, with personal authority to take decisions in the interests of their own countries. Great Britain, Germany and Italy between them could achieve the peace of Europe, granted the first condition of National Government in our own country. It was the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain who declared that the peace of the world could be secured by an alliance, or if you prefer it, an understanding, between these three countries. France, which has presented most of the post-war difficulties in Europe would be obliged to come into line, and in fact would do so. The

National Governments of Germany and of Italy are well established. They will not be overthrown. They are settled for a decade at least, perhaps for longer. A fully National Government, as outlined herein, in concert with that of Germany and of Italy, could settle all outstanding matters once and for all, to the great advantage of the mass of the British people, to that of British trade, to that of British business men, and not least in securing the peace of the world on terms honourable to each nation. These things can be done.

### *Representation*

It has long been a question whether men and women who exercise the vote have any power whatever in the Government of the Country. Once in seven, or four or five years, they are called on to vote. There ensues the ridiculous spectacle of the hustings, with the carpet baggers and a variety of magnates, talking of policies which they scarcely understand, and which the electorate understands far less. The result is spineless Government, producing childish obstruction, and pathetic indecision, accompanied by bribery, both direct and indirect.

Men or women can better express themselves through the trade, profession or calling which they follow, choosing Leaders whom they desire truly to represent them—and the interests of bread and butter and of culture—than by sending to the House of Representatives (Commons) someone whose qualifications they know nothing about, to represent them on questions which they do not themselves understand.

The Council (House of Commons, or the Lower House) of the Guild Socialist State will consist, therefore, of true representatives of the people, sent by the people as experts to Council, competent to discuss questions on which they are experts and which questions the mass of the people, in their several interests, understand. This implies at once the Reform of the House of Commons. The people's present

representatives, apparently self-satisfied, expend much time in discussing the reform of the House of Lords. Let us first reform the House of Commons, thereafter setting up a higher Chamber—that is, reforming the Lords. This latter will consist of the guardians of National culture, of men, tried and experienced in an Empire's affairs, men whose aggregate of wisdom can be utilized in great affairs of State. A body of Elders, as distinct from one of elderly plutocrats.

In the State Council there will be no parties. Conservative, Liberal, Labour and Communist Parties will cease to exist as such. The organization of Guilds, being the State, will govern in the National interest. It is not to be supposed that there will not be disagreement, when the interests of varied sections of the community are considered. But in place of the mean consideration of policies on the basis of the vested interest of corporations and associations, and in terms alone of the economic issue, each question will be considered in the National interest as a whole, free from the intrusion of financial interests, permitting instructed criticism.

### *The State the Foundation of National Life*

The National Workers' Movement regards the State as the foundation of National life. The Empire is part of that State. The State is the guardian of the spirit of the people—and herein it exercises its function through education, the arts, and those services which contribute to them—and it is the State which transmits the spirit of Government throughout the Empire. In the governance and extension of this latter is reposed the duty and service of the State. The National Workers' Movement recognizes that the spirit which it transmutes must become the momentum of similar movements based upon the centuries of custom and faith among the peoples of the Empire. The duty of the National Workers' State is, therefore, to train for leadership, and to select for this purpose not those who

will prove to be servile subordinates, but in whom there abides its true living spirit. The Indian Policy of the National Guild State will, therefore, conform to this principle. The principle itself is rooted deep in an understanding of traditions and cultures throughout the Empire and rooted in Nature itself. This principle alone is that which can secure and maintain and develop the Empire, producing from it the just reward to which service is entitled, and the peace and contentment of the varied peoples who together form the Empire.

## INSTINCT AND REASON

THE sure guide for every man as to his action and attitude in any circumstance is instinct, not reason. Get this clearly imprinted in your mind.

Reason is based upon knowledge; and knowledge must be limited. To know is a very great asset, but no man can know all. Truth has many facets: but there is only one ultimate Truth. Reason, therefore, for each one of us, based upon knowledge, will assist instinct. It will point to difficulty, and as to how difficulty will be overcome, in the same way as knowledge of mechanical power assists man to utilize natural resources in man's service.

But reason is no guide as to what is right or wrong. This is instinctive in each one of us. Nor is this instinct within the animal. Quite the contrary. Man is an animal, but he is much more. He is a spiritual being. This truth has been affirmed throughout all the ages, right down the centuries, by the great Seers, be they Christian, Moslem, Hindu, Buddhist, Confucian, Zooastrian. You accept Divine revelation and inspiration, or you do not. If you do not, then man, with all his struggles, with all his amazing achievements, with all his heroisms, and with all his sacrifices, is only an animal, guided only by the animal instinct of self-preservation; and you must accept the law of the jungle, the triumph of the strong over the weak, the predatory nature of the animal.

If you accept Divine Inspiration, then you accept the spiritual basis of man's life; and the virtues of patience, endurance, courage, loyalty, comradeship and sacrifice fall into their proper place. In the spiritual realm, such virtues are reasonable.

Reason, then, is an aid, but it is not the guide. Nor can reason lead. It is instinct which must dictate.



Instinct determines for each one of us what is right and what is wrong. It is true that what is wrong sometimes can be justified by reason, but this does not translate a wrong action into one which is right. In everyday life, especially in commerce, men justify what is wrong and commit themselves to certain lines of action, which they justify because they may be in accordance with customs of trade and of society. This does not make such action right: it only serves to show that a low standard of morality, and that degeneration, even a debauched public conscience, permits such a possibility for decision.

Human instinct is the infallible guide as to right and wrong. Statesmen and leaders in every walk of life, and every individual, must base their decisions upon instinct of what is right in every single circumstance. Wrong can never be justified, because it is opposed to spiritual truth. Wrong will always, and must inevitably, reproduce evil and unhappiness. Right will ultimately always be successful because, there being only one ultimate Truth, that Truth can never be gainsaid.

If we use our reasoning faculties, whether they be highly intellectual or very limited, these same reasoning faculties will tell us with no uncertain voice that what we instinctively feel in regard to any line of action must be right. If the voices of the spirit are stilled, and if the heart throws out the indwelling spirit, then there is no hope for such a man, for he is possessed by the devil, and such a man's works are wrong because his instincts will be wrong, and he will use his reasoning faculties to commit wrong in place of right.

Instinct is, therefore, the infallible guide to action. It is as infallible as reason may always be faulty, because the latter is based upon knowledge which in the present age must always be limited.



## NATIONAL DEFENCE

THROUGHOUT the ages the peoples of the world have recognized a civic duty in National Defence. This implies not only, and indeed not so much, the defence of land and property against invasion and capture, as it does the defence of national culture and institutions against the imposition of a lower and alien standard. Deep-seated in every citizen is a regard and affection for his own national institutions. Nor can it be too often repeated that we live under the shadow of a great tradition. For centuries it has been slowly forming. Lives without number have been built into it. The years have crowned it with power and with beauty. It marks the rise and dominance of the human spirit. In defence of cultural ideals and of the liberty founded upon the frugality and genius of their forefathers men will fight, even to the death.

The problem of National Defence is, therefore, not only one to engage the attention and interest of experts : it is also the affair of every good citizen.

### *The Citizen Force*

In writing of military affairs, no responsible person will refuse to concede me the right of authority. I will assert, therefore, that *the problem of Defence is not a super-expert matter*, whose range, technique and considerations are outside the comprehension of ordinary men. In order to emphasize this point, the public may be reminded that during the few short years of the Great War men were selected from civilian avocations to occupy positions of high command in the National Defence Scheme. Mere lads from the public schools, within a few short months, were educated and trained as efficient officers and led Battalions in the field and Squadrons in the air. Other boys, and older

men, too, up to that date unfamiliar with the use of weapons, within a few short weeks mastered the technique and tactics of mechanical arms of all kinds.

### *The Role of "Experts"*

It certainly requires a cadre of experts—the Navy, the Regular and Territorial Army, the Royal Air Force—to keep in good order the Organization for Defence, to experiment with new devices for armament and to test tactical movements, transport, and equipment appropriate to their use. Beyond this the Regular Forces are, and in any future emergency can only be, the expert framework upon which will be fashioned the National Defence Force, built on a national basis. The expert authority concerns himself, therefore, with technical matters and with the means to their use. He devotes himself further to the evolution of tactics through repeated experimentation. But beyond all this, he interests himself in the preparation and provision of strategic plans whereby the nation and its Empire shall be defended against aggression and from internal disorder. But National Defence is the affair of every citizen, and once the nature of the problem is understood, every citizen is capable of understanding it and of enforcing his views upon those responsible. The authority responsible for National Defence is the Cabinet; and the responsible body for advising the Cabinet is the Committee of Imperial Defence, whose Chairman is the Prime Minister.

### *The Committee of Imperial Defence*

*The first duty of the Committee of Imperial Defence is the security of the British people in their own homes:* to ensure that the British nation can pursue the ordinary affairs of life in peace; that, even in the event of war, the national life will be pursued with the least possible interruption. Whatever may be military organization, the mass of the people are and will be

non-combatants. The economic and social life of the country cannot be permitted to be brought to a standstill. Factory and mine workers, those engaged in essential trades and industries, women and children must not only be protected, but they must also be as free as possible, having regard to the necessary impositions of the Defence of the Realm, which, after all, are only details, to pursue their life in the ways characteristic of the nation in peace. Unless such conditions are ensured, the vitality of the nation will be lowered; its morale weakened, and even depression and panics may ensue.

I have insisted that the problem of Defence is a citizen matter; and I assert that its solution is in fact a simple one. No shrill propaganda directed towards the building of a giant Air Force, not the urgent and closer attention to the development of mechanical means in the Army—both of which are expert matters, and subordinate to the consideration of National Defence as a whole—should be permitted to become a smoke-screen obscuring the real issue.

### *The Tragic Penalty of Neglect*

If the Great War taught no other lesson, it certainly emphasizes the fact that there are at any given moment sufficient foodstuffs produced within Great Britain to keep our population alive at starvation level for six weeks, *and no longer*. During 1917, Germany, through the U-Boat Campaign, had accomplished a serious challenge to our national existence. *Britain was faced with the real possibility of starvation*. Realizing the facts, the military experts, Sir Douglas Haig and Sir William Robertson, devised and entered upon the Third Battle of Ypres, the objective of which was to secure the Channel ports, and to relieve the Channel of the pressure of the Submarine Campaign by the capture of the German U-Boat bases in Belgium. Including the Cambrai affair, this military operation which perished in the mud fastnesses of Passchendaele

cost Great Britain alone 394,645 killed, prisoners and wounded, and untold wealth in material. The appalling conditions under which men were forced to fight very seriously damaged the morale of the Army in France and Flanders: it depleted the Army of the essential reserves necessary to meet the German offensive of March, 1918, whose project and designs were already well-known; and, as the direct consequence of events, the Army during March and April, 1918, suffered immense and unnecessary casualties in men and material, and met the greatest offensive of all history with troops whose morale was already low and whose ranks were filled with inexperienced boy recruits. Here is the hideous evidence of the sequence of events which resulted from gross inattention to the real needs of National Defence.

There was never at any time any necessity for Great Britain to be imperilled by the U-Boat Campaign, nor indeed from any other form of naval aggression. At this period of the War, the Navy was never better organized; while, as the island power of Britain very properly exacted, the personnel of the Royal Navy was never more efficient. The tradition of the sea had been nobly carried on: and, largely due to the zeal of the Navy League, the British people had seen to it that its naval strength was commensurate with the burden of National and Imperial Defence, and that its standard in ships and armament was always higher than that of any possible aggressor. Naval genius and exertions prevented a national calamity during 1917. The "convoy system" of bringing supplies to our shores provided the national life with foodstuffs even though at a low level. The entry of America into the War probably released other ships and personnel of the Royal Navy for the purpose of more actively combatting the German Submarine Campaign. But it was at no time ever necessary for Great Britain to be placed in so perilous a position.

### *Gross Neglect of Duty*

The Imperial Defence Committee, under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister, is finally responsible for National Defence. From the objective standpoint of the statesman, the problem of Defence is not one of arms, for this is the business of his expert advisers. It is a problem which takes into its range every feature and circumstance of the national life. First and foremost, it is the duty of the statesman to ensure that the food of the population is secured. If we need to learn this lesson, the experts of the Great War should have imprinted it indelibly upon the minds of our statesmen.

*But the Committee of Imperial Defence has done nothing whatever to defend and secure the national life.* It is true, of course, that this Committee has reduced the Navy to that of a second-class power, and has flung large numbers of highly-trained and experienced Naval Officers on to the scrap-heap. It is true that the Royal Air Force, which at the close of the Great War was the largest and most highly-efficient both in personnel and machines in the world, had been so denuded that it ranked fifth against the air arm of other and possibly hostile nations; while it is true also that Army training is largely out of date, and some of the Army's most able officers have been either scrapped or banished in appointments where they can render no useful services to its organization. And it is true that there has been endless and highly-provocative chatter by Cabinet Ministers concerning "Disarmament" which has served to irritate such friends as Great Britain retains among the Powers.

*The question of National Defence is primarily one of being able to feed our own people within these islands.* Nobody should know this better than the Committee of Imperial Defence and the Prime Minister. An army safeguards its line of communications, thus ensuring food supplies. A nation can do



no less. There is incessant war talk. It is broadcast in speeches by Cabinet Ministers; it is blazed across the pages of the Press in great headlines. We are told that the need of the hour is a monster Air Force. This is but a shadow of the truth. *There is only one prime need in National Defence, and that is to be able to grow our own foodstuffs and to feed the population of these islands.* The shores of Great Britain cannot be defended by any Air Force, however large. The Air Force is firstly one of aggression. Though there is truth in the dictum that "attack is the best means of defence", the bombing of any number of cities in Europe would prove cold comfort to a starving British population, whose cities incidentally would be suffering from equal reprisals.

Final disarmament will be achieved when the cause for war is removed, and that cause is an economic one. Finance based upon productive capacity must certainly eliminate war. There will be nothing left to fight about. This matter is covered elsewhere. For the moment we will examine things as they are. Disarmament talks appear to be a camouflage for making war.

### *Salvation or Starvation?*

During the Great War very careful estimates were prepared by the Ministry of Agriculture and by other specially appointed authorities; and it is the fact that we are able to produce for our own sustenance the whole of the meat, cereals and dairy produce which at present we import from abroad. This could be accomplished within a few years. Had the Committee of Imperial Defence, under the Chairmanship of successive Prime Ministers since the War—Lloyd George, Stanley Baldwin, Ramsay MacDonald—recognized their grave responsibility and their first national duty, they would have ensured that in whatever calamity or circumstance Great Britain should find itself in the future, at least the National Defence was secured; that the people of these islands, if called



upon to defend their shores or to send armies overseas, would themselves be so ordered and organized that at no time whatever would the nourishment of our immense population be in question. As it is, more than fifteen years have passed since the peril of the War, and nothing whatever has been done by any one of the successive Cabinets. No political party has placed this vital question in the forefront of its programme. The Great War itself, as it would seem, still remains as one only of suspended hostilities. Grave questions provoked by the Treaty of Versailles await a happy and reasonable solution. Russia, France, Czechoslovakia, the U.S.A. have made tremendous increases in their armaments and in war material. Britain alone has reduced its means of defence, in fact, as every expert asserts, far below the minimum of national safety. And yet nothing whatever has been done to increase the agricultural acreage of Britain. Rather than this, farmers and land-owners have been penalized by punitive legislation; while the vast bulk of the food necessities of the people of these islands, meat, cereals, and dairy produce, are imported from abroad, the source of origin being often indeed the very countries from which, from the signs of the times, we may reasonably expect hostility, or the lines of communication with which are at all times open to the probability of hostile interference.

### *The British People Stripped of Defence*

Great Britain is in far greater peril to-day from this cause than it was even in 1917. No military expert seriously considers that an invasion of force can be carried out against these islands. Such an invasion is outside the range of practical consideration. Neither by sea, nor by air, can a sufficient number of troops be landed to contain this country: no enemy can possibly maintain his line of communication; while, for the very reasons which I have cited, no army can maintain itself with supplies in this country. To speak

of invasion is, therefore, to enter the realm of phantasia. *But to speak of starvation is to speak of facts, in the realm of reality.* It should be needless to add that if, having regard to our Imperial responsibilities, also, the Naval Defence of Great Britain is further reduced, then any hostile country, or combination of countries, might, by destroying the British Navy, effect a landing. The Navy, as always, is the first line of British Defence. The Navy, in co-operation with the Air arm, and supported by the Land Defences, ordered as they should be by a Minister of National Defence, is able to secure the people of these islands at all times from invasion, provided that its strength, equipment and personnel are adapted always to the changing task and that they are commensurate with the extent of the obligation. But the Navy, and no other arm, either singly or in co-operation with the Navy can defend Great Britain against starvation.

### *Post-War Governments Have Dallied*

So long as the possibility of war exists, it is the first duty of the British people as a whole to insist that those responsible for National Defence shall by every means in their power make it possible for the essential food-stuffs by which alone the nation can exist and survive to be bred and grown within these islands. Then, and only then, will National Defence be secured. Granted such a condition, our people need have no fear whatsoever of any single enemy, or combination of enemies. Should the emergency of war ever arise, the experience of the Great War has taught us that we can equip and train an Army of several millions if need be for the protection of our own shores. The point needs no emphasis also that in the citizen life of this country there are more than 4,000,000 men so trained from the Great War generation. The Committee of Imperial Defence should have recognized this fact so soon as the Peace Treaty was signed; and, with this immense reserve in hand, should have set itself to the task of

developing our natural resources, so that at no time whatever in the future should the population be faced with perils similar to those of 1917. And, due to the immense development in long-distance flights and to bombing experience, these are perils which have increased rather than diminished. Let it be repeated that successive Cabinets have done nothing whatever to secure the defence of the national life.

### *The Only Solution*

The prospect of the agricultural development of Great Britain presents a side issue which is secondary in importance only to that of National Defence itself. The Ministry of Agriculture and other agricultural experts, considering the matter separately, have agreed that we could ourselves produce the whole of the non-tropical foodstuffs at present imported into these islands. Thousands of acres of the finest soil in the world lie undeveloped: tens of thousands of men who might be employed in cultivating the soil and in the agricultural industry are loafing in our cities and walking the roads on either side of which lie these thousands of acres awaiting the genius and the hands of men. These tens of thousands of unemployed, at national expense, involving enormous waste of national wealth, are kept just above starvation level on the dole. Were they re-employed upon the soil, as they could have been immediately following the War, the Nation would be immediately relieved of an immense load of unprofitable taxation running into millions sterling every year; while at the same time this great army of unemployed re-engaged usefully in productive industry on the land would themselves become users of British machinery and consumers of the produce of the city factories; and these men and their families would also have been saved the degradation of unemployment with all the social evils which follow in its train. As the direct consequence the whole life of the nation would at once have been raised through the

re-institution of a thriving agricultural industry, while providing also for the only true National Defence.

Sixteen years after the War we are faced with the facts of wars and rumours of wars, while successive Cabinets, and least of all those of more recent years, have done nothing whatever to fortify, sustain and defend the National life. We are faced equally with the spectacle of tens of thousands of men, who are unwilling parasites of governmental incompetence, who have been cheated of their citizen right to live an honourable life.

### *"The Home for Heroes"*

This is a question which not only touches the population as a whole, but which is also of first and vital importance to ex-Service men. The experience of Germany has shown that ex-Service men have proved themselves to be admirable settlers on the land. Vast numbers of men taken during the War from the shelter and amenities of city life for the first time have found themselves peculiarly responsive to the conditions of out-of-door work and life. Their early experience of camp, forest and of field produced in them a very natural renaissance of feeling for the soil. As a considered policy, Germany provided facilities for her ex-Service men to find employment on the land, both through small-holdings and in the general agricultural scheme. The policy of small-holdings is, in fact, being now vigorously pursued by the present régime in Germany with the object of reviving peasant life in progressive and productive citizenship.

### *Not Yet Too Late*

No land in the world can well afford to ignore the advantage to itself of a vigorous and prosperous yeoman and peasant community. The land which can least afford to do so, Great Britain, has beggared her farmers, destroyed her peasantry, and left her lands unploughed and idle. It is not yet too late for us to

reward, as they have honourably deserved, the tens of thousands of unemployed men who served their country on the battlefields, and to give to them the inheritance of the land for which they fought so that they may till it—to re-invest them with the trust of safeguarding the national life even as they so acquitted themselves upon the battlefield. This point is not an argument of mere sentiment, though what is just and honourable in the discharge of pledges cannot be lightly put on one side. But the grave problem of National Defence transcends every other consideration.

The first duty of Government is to ensure the safety of its citizen life against aggression. It is, therefore, the first duty of any Government which deserves the name of Government to subordinate all other issues to the major and first question of a national agricultural policy. *Herein lies the surest and the only defence* against the enemies of Great Britain, both external and internal.



## THE ARMY OF TO-MORROW

AN astonishing feature in Army life is its failure to attract recruits of suitable type. Considerable sums are spent annually upon Recruiting Offices, upon posters and advertising and as rewards to "recruiters". There is obviously no lack of men with some millions unemployed, of whom a large percentage must represent a highly eligible type of recruit.

### *What the Army Offers*

The Army represents as attractive a period of life for the youth of Britain as may be imagined. The Army is better fed than are multitudes of homes in civilian life. Recreation, to suit every kind of taste, is better and more economically supplied, than in any other walk of life. With increasing "mechanization" and "specialization", compared with the days of "foot-slogging", the work is interesting in character. Having regard to the excellence of barracks, clothing, food and recreation, Army pay represents spending or saving money; while, in the higher Non-Commissioned ranks, this pay, together with facilities and allowances, compares very favourably with earnings in civilian life. Indeed, during the period of service of seven or twelve years with the Colours, there should be no difficulty for the soldier to place on one side a quite considerable sum with which to set himself up in civilian life after taking his discharge.

The British Army itself offers as fine a field for adventure and experience as can be found. Indeed, the Army service offers unique opportunities to see the world. Observing recent movements of battalions in which I am interested, I see that men have first spent some months at the depot in a country town, then have been transferred to home battalions quartered in



ancient British seaports, and the men have then travelled to China and from thence to India; or have travelled to Jamaica and thence to Shanghai; or to India and from thence to Egypt and the Sudan. All this within seven years. Wealthy people achieve far less at enormous cost, nor can they penetrate to interests accessible to the British soldier.

### *The Recruiting Problem*

With so attractive a proposition it is amazing that not only is the Army seriously under strength but that, despite considerable and special Official efforts, suitable young men refuse to offer themselves as recruits. There must be some very good reason, or reasons, why young Britons whose traditional instincts in the past have always been for adventure and for wide travel, are reluctant to join the Army. I write with considerable knowledge of what is called "working class life". The suggestions which I offer are not in any spirit of carping criticism, but as a serious contribution towards the solution of what is, in fact, a national problem.

### *National Obligations*

No people can claim national sovereignty who are unable to defend themselves. Our responsibility is far greater than that of a single nation, for we are the sole trustees for millions of people, enjoying sovereignty under our protection; and so long as we will honour this trust, so long does it remain our citizen national duty to provide for their protection.

I do not believe that the British people have lost anything of their sense of national obligation. Quite the contrary. It is only twenty years since millions of men flocked to the Colours; and, although grave events, political and economic, have deeply stirred the public consciousness, the heart of Britain remains true to its tradition, loyal to the achievements of race.

The Short Service System with a subsequent obligation in the Reserve is obviously at first sight a deterrent.

Except for the very few, service in the "rank and file" does not offer a career. Between the ages of twenty-four and twenty-eight, just at the very time when a good workman or artisan begins to feel his feet and is setting up a home for himself, the soldier is discharged from the Army, and must seek employment. In these days, he is faced with the probability of unemployment. Vocational Training undoubtedly assists in equipping the soldier for civilian life: it is no answer, however, to the haunting fear of unemployment. Obviously it is not possible to extend the period of Service with the Colours so that the soldier can regard the Army as a life career. The necessity for building a Reserve makes this quite impossible. A remedy is not, therefore, to be discovered in any change of the existing system of Service in the various arms of the Army.

### *A New National Policy*

There must first be considered what Policy, as a national measure, can be adopted so that men who contribute their services to sustaining British national sovereignty and Imperial obligations, shall be assured of a career, unhandicapped, after discharge. Military service pre-eminently suits men to the open-air life, the "out-of-doors". They become accustomed to early hours, to all weathers; while, taken as they are for the most part from city life, at an impressionable age of youth, they have been reintroduced to the soil from which they sprang and to the countryside, which but a generation or two before was their inheritance.

The heroes of the War are often the outcastes of peace. This is a pathetic commentary upon the manner in which we allow our national affairs to be ordered. But so it is. We are not concerned with the citizen force formed to meet a national emergency, but with the Regular Forces. But there is a valuable lesson to be learned from the experience of ex-Service men as a whole after the Great War. In Great Britain, with

rare exceptions, men were left to fend for themselves, whether ex-Regulars or not. German experience has shown that ex-Service men prove themselves to be admirable settlers on the land. So it should prove to be also with men enlisting in the British Army.

### *Making a Career from Enlistment*

A solution of the problem of recruiting surely appears to be that a guarantee shall be given to every recruit, who, during his service, sustains a good character, that he shall be entrusted with a small holding, properly equipped, preserving the spirit of comradeship through a co-operative system of farming and marketing. The State would undertake during the recruit's final period of service to give him vocational training in that branch of farming—dairy, arable, fruit, poultry, forestry—for which vacancies existed in the State scheme and which the man himself preferred. This is merely a question of intelligent planning based upon a policy, at once human and practical. The Army knows precisely how many recruits are required and precisely the number of discharges to take place every year. The idle lands of Britain occupy an enormous acreage. Such a policy would certainly secure the best type of recruit; while the expectation of such reward as part of the contract would certainly secure a higher state of discipline and morale. Desertions would practically disappear. Promotion to Commissioned and higher Non-Commissioned ranks, involving continuation in the Service, with the higher pension carried, would be its own reward; but the higher ranks also could on discharge be brought into positions in the administrative and marketing scheme. The availability of the Army Reserve in the case of National emergency would be secure because, as happened during the Great War, during the period of emergency, the older men who had passed out from the Reserve would not be called up and the place of others would be taken temporarily by women and older children. It would prove very

interesting and inspiring to develop such a policy with imagination upon a county or regional basis. But the scope of these suggestions does not permit it.

### *The Army an Envidable Occupation*

The Army should be an envidable occupation. There must be something to excite envy: and that can only be an elevated state of mind. Hope and expectation, a strong *esprit de corps*, good comradeship, pride, are the ingredients which go to make up the elevated mind. The Army should, and could be the spear-point of national pride, the focus of national traditions and characteristics. The British Regular Army pre-eminently is the bearer of British tradition and those virtues to which we especially lay claim—justice, fair play, integrity and courage. The Army is not a “war machine”, though if called upon to fight to protect the weak against the strong, to defend the defenceless against the armed aggressor, as has been its almost unvaried task throughout our military history, with one or two lapses for which none too scrupulous politicians were responsible, it acquits itself with efficiency, dispatch and chivalry. Again, the Army is a “peace machine”, preserving good order among the manifold peoples for whom we are the trustees, and defending them against the powerful and greedy aggressor. The Army is, therefore, in fact, the pivot of those virtues for which among the nations of the world the British people have always stood. This being so, it is a truly amazing thing that it fails to attract recruits. The reason is not alone this question of unemployment to which I have already drawn attention. It goes even deeper than that. The fact is that the nation does not appreciate its Army. It does not know for what the Army stands. It does not understand. It has never been told.

### *Recruiting*

Observe, for example, the recruiting posters. What

is their message? What do they proclaim? They offer apparently unlimited sport with hints as to pay. Does any young man with any kind of pride want to spend his life or the best part of his life, learning little or nothing of any value for a civilian avocation, as a third or fourth class professional footballer? Men want to make something of life as well as a living. The prize-winning poster in the recent War Office competition displays a man in football bags astride the world. Every prospective recruit realizes that he is not first-class as a footballer, or he would be paid a princely salary to be cheered by multitudes in the ranks of the Arsenal, Manchester City or Celtic. I suggest the psychology of this advertising appeal is quite wrong. Surely the first business of a recruiting poster and of the "recruiter" is to inspire pride, to show that the Army leads, to suggest virility, to fan the fires of love of country and of tradition—to produce the idea that the Army is a "movement", something better, something new, something to be attained, something which leads, something which is enviable, and because of these things something to whose membership it is difficult to attain, and something which carries a reward for service in its ranks, a reward which is better than a pittance of a pension, the possibility of a medal, and the bleak prospect of unemployment.

### *The Army as a Movement*

But the Army is not a movement. It could be; but it is not. Many of its performances are archaic, out of date, bearing no relation to tradition or to life. Many of its observances are based upon stuffy formulæ, the results of unimaginative caprice. Even with the highly scientific instruments and mechanized devices of modern armament, the movements of the men to whose care these things are entrusted bears no relation whatever to field conditions, while their training in Depots scarcely differs from that of the age of the bow and



arrow and the pike. In the Army, as the prospective recruit must visualize it, nearly every prospect is vile and it is only man who pleases.

### *Arms and the Man*

When the Great War ended, there were discussions as to the arms to be carried by the Infantry soldier. My opinion was invited. Remembering the lessons of the Great War, wherever fought, I emphasized the machine-gun, the automatic rifle, the bomb, the automatic pistol and the dagger. I visualized attack by infiltration, sections and platoons, pushing forward automatic rifles, preceded or flanked by expert riflemen as snipers, the total personnel carrying bombs, pistols and daggers for the *arme blanche* and the hand to hand struggle in the trenches, or among buildings. I remembered the thousands of rifles with fixed bayonets which littered the battlefields of Ypres, the Somme and of Arras, how they had been thrown away as a useless encumbrance. Riflemen, I foresaw as scouts, marksmen, snipers; and I did not think to see whole battalions, armed with rifles again advancing in skirmishing order. In defence I expected machine-guns to play the same part—one infinitely greater than their role in supporting the attack—as they did in German hands on the Somme and in ours in the Battle of the Lys. I expected the Machine-Gun Corps to remain, or to be merged into Line and Territorial Battalions, the latter far more mobile through mechanization; while, in the latter case, infantry battalions for training purposes would be divided into platoons of specialists—automatic rifles, bombers, light trench mortars, snipers; and, for tactical purposes the specialists would be taken as the cadre upon whose expansion in case of need a national army could be formed. In such training, platoons would have taken the specialist courses in series, so that every soldier would be proficient with four or five weapons and excellent with one. But back came the rifle and the bayonet, because,



as it was suggested, "rifle exercises are so good for discipline!"

If training does not bear an exact relation to reality, or as close as can be without the shooting and the killing, it is quite valueless. Nor is the argument that the Army is called upon to perform the work of a police one which sustains the necessity for the rifle. For, in dealing with unruly crowds, if the appearance of military force is not sufficient, the firing of one or two shots by a marksman at a ring leader is far more effective than is an order for indiscriminate fire against persons most of whom are merely excited, ignorant and without malice. If a mob is really dangerous and the marksman's fire insufficient, then the automatic rifle and the machine-gun is an answer which none can resist.

This arming of an Army with obsolete weapons is an illustration of what is fundamentally wrong with the spirit, tempo and organization of the Army throughout. It is not a "movement", and this is where it fails. Officers take every possible opportunity to be absent, to go on leave. So soon as perfunctory and meaningless parades are over, they change into mufti, and disappear to hunt, to play polo and tennis and to foregather at the Club. The Orderly Officer remains to wander round the kitchens and turn out the guard, while a few keener spirits play their part in the organized games of the troops. Guard-mounting, attendance at the archaic, ridiculous and punitive orderly room, whereat hosts of intelligent men idle for hours—scenes which are witnessed by the potential recruit through the barrack railings—cannot possibly inspire any man to join the Army. They are gloomy and threatening. They lack imagination and vitality. They can only invite the starving and the idiot.

### *Field Fitness*

The possibilities presented by intelligent and imaginative army organization and life to-day are almost

unlimited. But there are no possibilities without drastic reform. The first reforms necessary are to remove from the Active List every man, be he General or Private, who is not physically fit to undergo hardship and privation under war conditions. A man who is not bodily fit, is not mentally fit. As every medical authority knows, man inevitably reaches an age whereat he begins to decline. Creative ability becomes extinguished. Military service, especially conditions of war, demand a capacity to appreciate a situation rapidly from personal knowledge, instant decisions and an imaginative faculty from which alone can be produced the element of surprise which is the only talisman of victory. Field Commanders must be young men, experienced men—but young men. One observes this lack of imagination throughout the whole system of Inspections.

There is something of the burlesque in the Inspections: the psychology is opposed to good morale, and places both the inspector and the inspected in a false relation to one another. Nervous men anxious to escape the eagle eye may discover some sympathy with the inspecting Commander. It is an embarrassment in a performance objectively so unfriendly as the Battalion inspection, to greet eyes rigidly fixed to the front and set jaws, where a thousand human beings, hung round with war material, polished and clayed, ridiculously, should be possessed of warm hearts, lightly and seasonably clad, attuned by reality to that of the Commander. The Inspecting Officer proceeds on his round abreast with the Company Commander. There follow a retinue of "detectives" searching for the unpolished button, the incorrectly-laced boot, the missing tea from the "iron ration", the chainless cork in the water-bottle, the spot of ingrained rust on the useless bayonet, the too long quiff of hair, and such other trivial details. Behind come the various administrative Officers of the victualling and clothing branch from the Quartermaster down the scale, four or five

times repeated, to the Corporal. The duty of the "detectives" is to "Take his name, Sergeant". The duty of the latter is to replace deficiencies and probably to impose a fine. The psychology of the Inspection is, therefore, punitive.

### *Family Life*

A unit of the Army is a family. The conduct of family life is not designed upon the punishment plan. "Indestructible cohesion, best of all qualities which an armed body can possess," wrote Henderson, "is based not alone upon the hereditary resolution, but on mutual confidence and respect." These latter virtues are not inspired by the fear of punishment. Good discipline—indestructible cohesion—is not inspired in this way. And these men of the Regular Army, mark it well, are being trained as a Cadre, to be leaders of men in the event of need. They will have learned nothing from training except a system of petty bullying and of punishment, which, though barely tolerated in home training camps and in the "Bull Ring" during the Great War, will never again be suffered.

The recruit who joins his depot for the first time should be made to feel that he has entered, not only a new, but a better world. By better is implied something far more than what now appears as the cleaned-up, well-fed man, subject to order and imposed discipline. A man is not better unless his mind is elevated. There must be something immediately to be attained: there must be something to impel the ambition to its attainment. There is not only knowledge of military routine and of tactics to be gained: there should be a new spirit to be acquired.

### *To Know*

Of knowledge, having regard to the duties of the Army, the ignorance of both Officers and men of the native races among whom they are destined to live, and for whose safety they are the trustees, is simply

incredible. For example, in India, British troops suffer the natives with ill-concealed contempt, and know little or nothing of the geography, aspirations, philosophy of life, sports and recreations of those among whom they dwell. Surely, a thousand misunderstandings would be removed and a closer bond be established between the British and Indian peoples, if British soldiers as part of the educational training, knew something at least about the Institutions of those among whom they are destined to spend years of their life. How much more would the personnel of the British Army and its function be appreciated by the native inhabitants, among whom also a hostile propaganda is disseminated by Britain's enemies, financed from abroad. After discharge, such knowledge, to which would be added that gained from personal experience, would prove of immense advantage in its educational value, as a leaven, among an island people with immense overseas responsibilities of which essentially they must be largely ignorant. The "Leadership" principle, the Army as a "Movement", would be continued in the after civilian life.

### *Mechanically Animated Inertia*

Of forms and ceremonies, much might be said. No movement can afford to neglect ceremony. It is the outward expression of *esprit de corps* and of order. But the over-emphasis given to training recruits for ceremony suggests that it is taken for granted that recruits must be the most stupid of men. If this is the standard set, presumably only the least potentially efficient will offer themselves as recruits. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the performances which take place on the parade ground—the shouting, the marching and counter-marching, the business with buttons and buckles; while when the man is off parade, he is allowed to strut with his middle tight tied round with a piped clayed belt, a ridiculous nobbed cane in his hand; or to play his regimented, organized

games. A high *moral* cannot proceed from such mechanically animated inertia. The Army will never be a Movement, so long as such proceedings overawe its spirit; while as a tactical lesson such antiquated conventions are absurd. The Army is no longer required to form its Waterloo Squares against a charging cavalry, or to meet the assegai and the fanatic sword with the fixed bayonet. Yet, at the Royal Tournament each year, the Masters-at-Arms are those who wield the sword, the sabre and the bayonet. There are no Masterships-in-Arms for those who can run a machine-gun into action or who, unseen, can stalk a quarry; none for the armed sprinter, none for the man who can overwhelm his adversary in a catch-as-catch-can bout, armed with a short dagger, none for the man who shows his excellence in the combined use of the two or three weapons essential to modern warfare. It is hardly surprising that Officers, of a high standard of education, are content to draw their pay for performing perfunctory, trivial and almost purposeless parades, and to leave the real scene of their life work and engage in activities at once more interesting, more amusing and more inspiring.

### *To be Alert*

Let us take one example from the genesis of recruiting—the position of “Attention”.

During 1934, I attended the annual Inspection Parade of an O.T.C. Contingent. At the rehearsal a number of boys fainted while standing at attention. Even in the trained Regular Army men topple over. Every medical authority knows that in this position there is no control of the nervous system. The position, if retained for more than a moment, is one of cerebral and bodily constriction, though it is useful as the prelude to some ceremonial movements. The really “Alert” position is with the feet some eighteen inches apart, the body equally poised, the weight being on the ball of the feet, from which position a man immediately



can spring forward, backwards, right or left. He can remain in this position for a long while without weariness, and with full possession of his senses. It is also a tactical position. As is illustrated, also, by the customs of most of the world's inhabitants, and, for example, by British miners, the popular position of "Ease" is one in which the body is sunk with knees bent, the weight being taken, partly by the elbows resting on the thighs and partly on one heel. This also is the tactical position of cover; and while they are in this position a Commander can see his men and appreciate their understanding of his remarks. A man unaccustomed to physical exercise and untrained cannot take this position, which implies, of course, that he would be unable to take cover, and in action would not only be in peril himself, but would be a danger to his comrades.

### *Producing Peacocks instead of Panthers*

In fact, the training of the Army concentrates upon the production of peacocks, where it ought to produce panthers. There are a host of illustrations which can be readily provided. The more scientific the Army becomes, the more are all its operations speeded up. This is obvious. The man upon whom the efficient conduct of the mechanical operations most relies, therefore, should first be trained for speed of foot, of hand, of body and of brain. It appears, therefore, that the tempo of training demands immediate drastic revision. The psychology of such a change would certainly have an immense influence upon recruiting. We live in a mechanical age. A man desiring the adventure of military service in foreign lands, and who during his youth has come under the influence of speed, if he has any imagination at all will not wish to join a service in which everything is slowed down to the pace of guard mounting, foot drill and the orderly room.

Military training could be so refashioned that the Army would become the focus and organized State

expression of mental and physical fitness in control of mechanized means. In fact, there would be produced that pride of body and of achievement which form part of the state of the elevated mind. In simple language: "You would give the recruit something to buck about." He would be trained to be better than his civilian fellow: he would be looked up to; and as the focus of national endeavour his influence would make itself felt throughout citizen life.

This elevated mind will not be achieved unless and until senior officers come under the influence of that new thought which expresses itself, for example, in camping, hiking, the quest of the open air and the Boy Scout movement. Though it is true that junior officers are encouraged to take a part in regimental sports and institutions, they have never yet been inspired or persuaded to feel the impulse of the "leadership—comradeship" principle which already in protest against the stuffiness and disillusion of our national life is making itself felt especially among that class of the community which forms the cream of the rank and file. For the most part, junior officers are out of touch with this spirit, have never come under its influence, nor is there anything in the training at Sandhurst which suggests that it is even understood. The most virile movement in Great Britain is that of the "Boy Scouts". The Army should carry this spirit into adult life. But, as yet, there is little to attract the Rover Scout to join the Army.

### *The Curse of Conventions*

Life in the Army must appear and be attractive, adventurous, filled with novelty, comradeship. As a movement, it must strike out bravely upon a new road. War is an unconventional business: military Service in Asia, Africa or China is largely of necessity immune from the conventions of Western civilization, and might with advantage be far more so. But at the very beginning of his training, the recruit not only has

to confirm to the stuffy conventions of city life, but these are magnified by tight trousers, spit and polish, walking out with strange ladies who wait at the barrack gate, and all kinds of notions from the robot civilization without, which unimaginative people ordain must be incorporated within in order to make the soldier feel quite at home and happy.

### *Comradeship*

If the truth were known, and if the best class of recruit were to be attracted, the Army authorities would banish the so-called civilization from which, in fact, the recruit wants to escape, and would let him feel that he has really entered into a new life, for the better. He would discover a comradeship equalled by nothing which he has hitherto experienced, and it would be tempered by a discipline which secures the maximum of efficiency on parade and in exercise, but which during the hours of leisure and recreational training throughout would be secured in a Brotherhood-in-Arms watched over by the paternal spirit of the Regiment. It is thus that "mutual confidence and respect" are born, and thus that they are sustained. But there is no hope of giving birth to this spirit while disappointed officers rush away from their charge to dispel their grief in playing games or poodle-faking, and none while antique and unfit elderly men with hereditary notions deeply embedded in South Africa, if not in the Crimea, preside over what they consider should be the conventional tempo of an Army, which ought to be a Movement.

### *Knowledge of Men*

Apart from knowledge of technique and tactics, the quality most desirable in an officer is that of knowledge of men. Leadership consists in understanding the human family, its strength and its weakness, its faults and failings, the stresses and strains to which it is subject, its emotional and bodily needs. And such

knowledge can be broadly stated as the science of psychology. There is a variety of text works, such as those of Freud, Kraft-Ebbing, Adler and McDougall, Jung, available; but because, for the most part, these discount the teachings of Plato, Sophocles, and of Christ, they are a guide only to be received with caution. But at least these works open the mind to a subject which is obviously among the most interesting in the world. Human nature with its aspirations, and its ambitions, which may be counted among the great qualities; and its lusts and greed which are among its vices, is the one subject above all others which should be studied by those who would attain to the leadership of their fellow men. To know everything is to understand everything. If men have no educational basis for the interpretation of the action which springs from the individual and the mass mind, they are not possessed of the essential knowledge required in leadership. Neither at the Military nor at the Staff Colleges is Psychology included within the curriculum. We find the evidence of this neglect in the methods of recruiting. The ribboned N.C.O. still stands at the street corners with his eye for the vagrant and taps the queues of unemployed, where the recruiting function should be in the hands of the intellectual humane officer, who has discovered the meaning of regimental comradeship and who understands the British tradition and trusteeship and can convey this to an audience of youngsters who will receive his message with sympathetic understanding.

### *Being "Fed-Up"*

If, because of boredom, inertia and lack of promotion, regimental officers are "fed-up", this communicates itself to the rank and file. From the frequent cases of desertion and of absence without leave which attain publicity, we may reflect that there exists a considerable body of opinion which is "fed-up". In fact, it is known that a great many men, through

desperation resulting from unemployment, having joined the Colours, are quickly disillusioned, and, almost at the beginning of their service exclaim: "Roll on my seven." Such recruits regard themselves as prisoners, forced into the discipline of barracks through the unkind control of economic circumstance. Such a system cannot produce the elevated spirit, essential to the Army, especially to the British Army, at all times.

### *Of Morale*

To provide for amenities, it seems as if those in control have come to their conclusions from ideas which govern, and certainly degrade, citizen life. It is apparently considered that the soldier must have his cinema with its silly and often highly-objectionable spectacles, concocted by aliens at Hollywood and elsewhere. The soldier is encouraged to walk out: the red tunic is considered to be a good recruiting poster. The soldier is not urged to rely upon and to develop the comradeship of his regiment, but to go in streams from the barrack gate, to gape at the pictures, to be lured to the "Pub" and to go as near as he can to getting married without committing himself to the inconvenience of being placed on the married strength. The tempo of such a system is radically wrong. None of the successful forces and movements throughout history has achieved its success upon such theories of building morale, *esprit de corps* and that true comradeship which responds to leadership in action, and which knows its releases during the leisure hour. Surely, it is obvious that when, even "on the dole", a young man can obtain his cinema, his walking out, his football, dog racing, and street-corner bet, which have become a main diversion for a large part of the more ignorant of our population due to the hypnotism of the robot Press, he will not be induced to put on a uniform as a mark for the eagle eye of Military Police, and subject himself to a loss of liberty which insists that he



must report to bed by 10 p.m., or as a special favour at 12 midnight.

The Army is not a movement: it catches the starving, turns them into prisoners, and as a sop allows them to play at being civilians. And yet, the Army should be among the few most enviable occupations, with its citizen reward at the termination of Service.

### *To Begin Reform*

A volume might be written concerning the changes in tempo which are necessary to produce reform, to make the Army an enviable occupation. But I have indicated some of these things. During the Great War, a good fighting unit, one consistently so, was vested with a leadership which insisted upon the ideals which I have stressed. The Army ought to be possessed of what is termed "the public school spirit". Of its first functions, physical training, a purposive training, should be the background for all else. Organized games are over-emphasized against such pursuits as tramping and climbing. As a very young Scout Officer in India, I remember being granted permission to take the Battalion Scouts for two week's training in the Indian foothills beyond Almora. We lived rough. We hunted game, we surveyed, we climbed: we wore the minimum of clothes—boots, socks, shorts, and became as bronzed as Gurkhas. A modern infantry, using modern weapons, must be an Army of Scouts, which the German tactics of Infiltration taught us. Clothing requires radical reform. What has been efficient for Boy Scouts, giving freedom of limb and excellence of form, should, with changes of hat and all-weather fabric, be efficient for the Army. The Army needs no married men, at least until the rank of Captain or of Sergeant. The "girl he left behind him" is bad for morale, while the wife abroad is often an intolerable barrier to the strengthening of good relations between British troops and the native populations for whose care they hold the trust.

Give the recruit aspirations, hope, security after service, a glorious comradeship, pride. Make the Service an enviable one. Reform its tempo and psychology so that it becomes a "Movement", the focus of British national pride and endeavour. And there will be no lack of recruits.

### *To Fight for a Cause*

If the Army is a fighting force, it might show its fighting spirit in peace by setting out in conquest of those evils by whose agency the British race shows a slow vitiation. To fight for physical excellence: to fight for the traditions of our race: to fight for mutual confidence and respect while Capital wars with labour, and while politicians bicker about Empire constitutions: to fight for Comradeship between men: to fight for the free spirit against stuffy convention: to fight, by example, for the leadership principle in National affairs. Here is a cause worth fighting for, and which will win the best of recruits, a cause better than that of any war in history and a cause to which the military history of our race bears testimony that the Army is well adapted to espouse and lead.

It is the spirit of the Army which needs reform.

### *Military Knowledge*

A very distinguished Officer wrote to me not long ago with this observation: "When I was a youngster and serving under an Officer who is now a Field Marshal, I was told that reading was bad for discipline."

I referred to this in conversation with a group one evening, and found a general sympathy with the Field Marshal's view. "We don't want young officers to think: we want them to do what they're told." To which I replied: "You don't win wars by not thinking: you lose men!" It is very long since Lord Wolseley in a lecture remarked: "So far as I know of the study of war, the great thing is to read a little and think a

great deal—and think of it over and over again. Study is absolutely necessary for any man who ever wishes to command troops on the Field.”

Knowledge is the source of all wisdom, the sure guide to sound judgment, and it may be added, the only talisman of happiness. Discipline must, in fact, be of a far higher order in an army of such increased mobility as we witness to-day than it was in an era of dense military formations and wherein the building of fire power implied packing the Front with rifles. Mechanical arms and organization in a more general sense have changed all this. No one with true knowledge of the facts will suggest that the French Foreign Legion is not one of the best disciplined and efficient forces in the world; yet Company Drill, far more Battalion Drill, is practically unknown. In retrospect, it is permissible to say of the Great War that in the British Army there were two distinct participants, the Staffs and those who were required to do the fighting, and that these two possess virtually no knowledge of the considerations, thought and life one of the other. The published Histories of the Great War, whether Official or otherwise, as well as the Memoirs of Generals and the often bitter reminiscences of lesser men are eloquent in illustration of this point. If we are unable to remedy faults and weaknesses in the armour of national defence during times of peace—or perhaps better expressed just now as during an era of suspended hostilities—those possessed of experience and knowledge, as well as those responsible for the training of troops for war, incur a grave personal and national responsibility for the default.

As I have written elsewhere<sup>1</sup> in some chapters devoted to “The New Warrior”, the tempo and rhythm of the training of men, as opposed to Staff Exercise, requires radical changes in order that men shall be equipped, mentally and physically, to meet the revolutionized conditions of modern warfare. If no

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<sup>1</sup>*Meteor.*

other considerations be taken into account, two factors alone insist upon the necessity for change. First, that of the extraordinarily increased mobility of the man and of his weapons, requiring greater physical speed, suppleness of body and individual training in the use of ground and cover: and, secondly scientific revelations, which demand greater speed of mind as well of a higher standard of knowledge. Officers are required, therefore, to be able to instruct men. For this purpose they must themselves be well instructed.

And, since the scientific perfection of to-day may to-morrow be obsolete, altering methods of the deployment or concentration of men and of the use of arms, the officer must also keep himself abreast of current thought; and he can only do so from reading. It is quite insufficient that men entrusted with the leadership of their fellow men should rely for knowledge upon popular journalists and notorious politicians. For these are for the most part men who know so many things which are not so, that they make ignorance appear not only interesting but positively important. Leadership cannot be gotten from the crowd: if that were so it would be but to follow. The true source of military knowledge, which invites also an investigation of political science, geography, history and ethnography, is to be found in military works and in the military periodicals.

Then if officers are not preoccupied with professional studies with what are they engaged? "Too often, after a young officer joins his regiment, his enthusiasm diminishes, and he either settles down to a routine way of practicing his profession, or becomes definitely disgruntled."<sup>1</sup> Thus an experienced regimental officer, and he continues later: "In these early years of his military career should a young officer be reading and thinking."

Yet, though a Battalion, a Battery or any other

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<sup>1</sup>Major M. K. Wardle, D.S.O., M.C. "The Army Quarterly," January, 1934.

formation will transport mountains of mess plate and sports gear from one end of the world to another, it is not considered worth while to carry the standard and up-to-date works upon war; and even the Garrison Libraries in this respect are ill-equipped. In Regimental Depots with which I am familiar, the standard text works are not available, histories of modern war are conspicuous by their absence, while were it not for the solitary existence of the U.S. Institution, serious study of the art of war would be almost impracticable for the young officer. War is almost a closed book to junior officers because the study of books is not encouraged, and often is deprecated by stuffy authority.

Perhaps two examples may be sufficient with which to test the value of military knowledge and study as opposed to mere routine drill and games playing. From the gloomy history of the War on the Western Front, with its disasters and failures at Neuve Chappelle, Loos, the Somme, Arras or Passchendaele, two battles stand out as successes, in which too the gains were commensurate with the losses—the capture of Messines carried out by Lord Plumer, a notable student and one who committed this knowledge and thought to paper, and the First Battle of Cambrai. “Every detail of this plan had been most ably worked out by Lt. Colonel Fuller himself (G.S.O.I. to the Tank Corps), or by the Staff whom he inspired.” Every movement and formation had been reduced to an exact drill, several special exercises being evolved for the occasion. One of them, a simple platoon drill for the Infantry, was, we are told by an official historian, based upon a drill described by Xenophon in the *Cyropædia*, and attributed by him to Cyrus of Persia (*Circa* 500 B.C.).<sup>1</sup> Here then was knowledge, which, profoundly informed, searched the whole range of military history for experience, forms and stratagems appropriate to novel circumstances. It is no surprise to

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<sup>1</sup>“The Tank Corps.” Williams-Ellis.



those familiar with his later work in the reorganization of the Army and with his glowing military Essays that the man who devised the brilliant Cambrai attack and inspired the Staff has been acclaimed throughout the world as one of the foremost military thinkers of our age. These two examples suffice to point the moral that the only military leadership of any real value is instructed leadership. Knowledge and knowledge alone is the key to victory. And this, too, is true of all the affairs of life.

### *Training the Individual*

Mere brawn will win no battle of the future, however successful in the days of the pike and the claymore. For all military purposes, whether of training or of war itself, the sprinter and the cross-country runner are of far higher value than the cricketer or the footballer. Read any Regimental journal, and there are seen the interests and pursuits of the Army—football, cricket in excelsis, the making of one or two champion boxers who very often purchase their “discharge”, and hunting and shooting to provide interest for the officers. None of these things are of any real value in the training of men for active operations. The team spirit? I reply that individual initiative requires development to the utmost, and that the system by which an army can alone be reinforced in war makes of an over-developed team, or “regimental”, spirit, a weakness rather than conferring any advantage. And hunting and shooting? Certainly, freed from conventional parties, these pursuits may train the senses to country, to ground and to weather. But these things are recreations, as distinct from pursuits which properly should be incorporated into training. The fallacy that a champion football team makes a good regiment, or that to win a Polo Cup is concerned with anything but social recreation, must be overthrown.

We come very close to understanding this fallacy of *training* for sport rather than for the profession of arms

when we come to examine the military, and especially the war, record of the well-known names of the sports and hunting field. It would be ungracious to choose; and the observation may pass, therefore, with the assertion that most are to be found not in the leadership of men but occupying administrative posts at the Bases, conducting schools for this and that, in charge of remount depots and the like; while of the well-known names among sportsmen who joined up "for the Duration", with the rarest exceptions, it is notorious that the majority figured in Divisional Trains and in choice posts far removed from the leadership of men.

Then, briefly, it comes to this—organized sports for the rank and file and field sports for officers play no part in the training of an army, not even the subsidiary role of "keep men fit", for this can be achieved far better by purposive physical exercises and games. Football, cricket or hunting and shooting are recreations, a change only from training in the military sense. "Good sportsmen" do not make effective military leaders, though a fearless rider to hounds or a first-class footballer may also prove an able leader: but not because of his proficiency in either of the former. Commanding officers, perhaps especially Brigade Commanders, whose unit is generally the largest tactical expression, must demand knowledge in the officers under their command in preference to any other virtue.

Physical courage can be assumed as the result of the first medical examination. A capacity to learn, that is a standard of education, can also be assumed resulting from the first examination tests. But knowledge can never be assumed. Of necessity, from the changes brought about by scientific invention and discovery, by psychological reactions to metaphysical forces, by fresh considerations being raised by plagues, inventions, political circumstance and so forth, knowledge changes almost from day to day; and the application of knowledge will change with changing circumstance. In military science wherein surprise is the first element

of success, the leader possessed of knowledge will obtain success where all others will fail. Even is it useless to be possessed of any weapon of pre-eminence if knowledge as to its strategic and tactical handling under varied circumstances does not exist.

There is no excuse whatever for lack of study and for the quest of knowledge. Anyone familiar with regimental life will recognize the wasted hours, often of sheer boredom, in attendance at the Orderly Room, inspections and so on. Not infrequently, as the only escape from such boredom, officers who might become highly competent turn to polo and hunting, not as a recreation, but almost as a wholetime occupation. They will hurry through perfunctory routine, and spend the rest of the day "schooling ponies" and playing "chukkers". And there are many senior officers who consider that such an occupation is fitting junior officers for the leadership of men; because here they suffer from the delusion that a fearless polo player must in consequence be a competent Company Officer. Such notions are archaic and belong to the age of the bowman. The Company Leader who really understands those under his command and preserves the happy balance between comradeship and discipline—which is leadership—and who beyond this is a student of war and of weapons, will not only carry the confidence of his men, whatever may be his personal failings, but he will also lead them to success. The ignoramus is useless in the leadership of men in war; and no one knows this better than the rank and file.

To act with decision, counting the cost—that is courage. If it is training of the eye which makes the cricketer; then how much more necessary is it to train the intellect for its varied tasks. Instant decisions, those of the alert and eager mind, capacity for judgment, these are the essential qualities in a soldier. But of what value a decision based upon ignorance, of what a judgment unpossessed of the sure guidance of experience and of facts?

SECTION II

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## UNEMPLOYMENT ANALYSED

### *The State Responsible for the Citizen*

**I**F it was not realized before, the demand by the State of its citizens for National Service during the Great War established the principle that the Citizen is responsible for the State. It follows, therefore, that the State is responsible for the Citizen.

I remember during early 1915 when on leave from France, I was asked to speak on behalf of recruiting in Scotland. In addressing my audiences, I asserted this truth, nor have I since deflected from this view. *The State is responsible for the citizen.* To understand the State and its meaning, of what it consists and what is its purpose, implies a recognition of the fact that the State, being Government, is also the absolute expression of Citizenship.

The State is responsible for the preservation of Citizen life, for the engagement of that life in honourable and useful occupation, for the protection of that life against every kind of subversive influence, for its enrichment and for its cultural development. The State is possessed of rights to encourage virtue and frugality in its citizens, as well as to penalize and punish vice and idleness. The State has an equal right to protect both physical and spiritual life. Just as it is the first duty of the State to segregate those who pervert and degrade the minds of their fellow men, it is also the duty of the State to protect its Citizens against adverse trade cycles and misfortune occasioned by the elements. It is equally the duty of the State to protect its Citizens against exploitations of the monetary system, speculation with national wealth and against those who traffic for personal profit by creating industrial and commercial upheavals.

### *The Business of Ministers is to Act*

The State is not impersonal. It is a profound error

to think of the State as some all-powerful authority, consisting of officials working to fixed formulæ and under regulations. The State system must, of course, have men in its service in administration. But government is not administration: it is something wholly different. As the result of the deterioration of government resulting from a false democratic system, a widespread belief has arisen that government consists in the Police Courts, the Tax Collectors, and various offices from which forms are procured for the purpose of obtaining permission to do this or that. *But Government is the expression of the real will of the people, is, in fact, vested in Personality, and anything which steals from Personality in the execution of the people's will is opposed to good government.*

The State acts in pursuance of the will of the people. Government, therefore, acts; and this does not mean that Statesmen waste the Nation's time in debate of matters concerning which their minds have been made up. This leads to inaction. As a consequence of debate itself and of delay, policies are compromised, attention is not paid to the often desperate needs of the people and opportunities go by. It is not, therefore, the business of Ministers to sit endlessly in a House of Representatives. It is the business of Ministers *to inspire by action the policies which they have formulated through the machinery of administration.*

### *Unemployment Benefit the Citizen's Right*

Even before the War more than 1,000,000 British citizens were permanently unemployed. They lived on what was called "charity" which certainly was not "love", while a proportion of them no doubt lived on their relations, though never on their friends. But since the War, due to economic upheavals resulting from the loss of international trade and other familiar conditions, the numbers of permanently unemployed were more than doubled; and, in fact, they must increase. So desperate were the needs of a great many

of these unemployed, and so embittered were others, especially those who had served the country on the battlefield, that the State was forced to recognize its responsibility for the Citizen's care, at any rate to a degree beyond Poor Law Relief. In other words, it was realized that whole communities could not be treated as vagrants and tramps. The State therefore instituted Unemployment Benefit on a contributory basis, popularly known as "the Dole". In so far as such benefit is contributory, it is no more a dole than is a pension, because it consists of individual earnings, and the recipient has a title to what is his. Nor can any right-minded person object to the principle involved. But Unemployment Benefit, from its inception, was not a recognition of the State's responsibility for its Citizens. It was not much more than a device with which to overcome an ugly situation. If it had been a recognition of the principle involved, it would have covered every Citizen, no matter to what strata of society he belonged or in what occupation he was engaged. *The relationship between the State and the Citizen must be inclusive or not at all.* It is evident, therefore, that the inclusion of great hosts of workers of all classes within the Employment Scheme would have contributed a far greater sum for the benefit of the less fortunate, while certain classes of workers whose occupation has not made them eligible for registration under the existing scheme and upon whom hardship has fallen would have been included. It cannot be disputed that a Citizen scheme arranged on this basis could be made actuarially sound, and because it would include the whole of the adult population, the amount of benefit payable could be adjusted exactly to national wealth, so that there would be a proper balance between those fortunately employed and those who for the time being may be the victims of adverse trade cycles or other economic causes. Moreover, such an arrangement in the national interest would have a beneficial effect upon the rather natural

selfishness of certain Trade Unions, which, due to apprehension concerning loss of livelihood for its members, have excluded a large number of workers who might be engaged in the industries controlled by the Trade Unions, and as the result of Trade Union apprehension have found themselves among the permanently unemployed.

### *To Restore the Trade Union Guild Spirit*

This fact in itself brings with it the recognition that a Trade Union as an arbitrary factor is possessed of no inherent rights outside the State to govern the number of operatives employed in any industry. The State itself alone should be the only deciding factor. The natural corollary follows that *the whole adult population should be divided into professional craft, industrial and commercial Trade Unions*, themselves possessed of the original Guild spirit on which they were fashioned. Such division of the population would immediately identify capital interest with that of labour; the warfare between capital and labour would in result disappear; while Unemployment Benefit and other similar social services would be administered through the Trade Union machinery which is admirably designed for the purpose. In any such scheme, the "Means Test" and other anti-social provisions would disappear, partly due to the higher conception of citizenship and of the duties of Trade Unionism which would operate against the idler and the policy of "ca'canny", and partly by reason of the fact that it would be universally recognized to be an unfair proposition. But this cannot be taken singly as a weapon with which to belabour the Government. The system requires changing.

### *To Relate Productive Capacity with Consumptive Capacity*

It must be recognized that the feature in modern civilization which produces unemployment is the

failure on the part of financial technique to relate productive capacity with consumptive capacity. We live in an age wherein *the products of Nature were never more bountiful*, wherein the revelations of science have never more readily and easily given them to our use. Yet this is an age in which *poverty has never been on so gigantic a scale and more universal*, and in which human suffering and misery has never been greater.

It is not to be believed, for one moment, that human genius is so impoverished that, having made such amazing discoveries and inventions, causing Nature to yield of her bounty, both of necessity and for luxury, that it is impossible to produce *an invention in the field of finance* which will subordinate scientific operations to the uses of man. Such a statement is so obvious that at first sight it might appear to be not worth while making. Nevertheless, the fact remains that no such decisive invention has received publicity, nor is the world at large aware of it. But those who are familiar with the forces which control publicity will be aware that the last thing in the world which the Money Power desires is that any such invention shall be made available to a suffering world. *So long as the Power of Finance remains in the hands of this very small group, human beings in their millions will walk the streets in idleness, living upon the labours of their fellow men:* the professional classes will be gradually expropriated and bled white. While, to serve the obsolete system possessed by the Financial Masters, millions of tons of sugar have been cast into the Cuban seas, thousands of barrels of fish lie in our seaports, the factories are stocked with goods which cannot be consumed, machinery stands idle, and, at the same time, tens of thousands of people are living on the border-line of starvation.

The State being responsible for its citizens, the ordinary man may be led to wonder why it is that the State is unable itself to devise a financial technique



with the object of relating production with consumption. It would appear that the Board of Trade is possessed of all the necessary data in respect of the number of operatives engaged in each industry, the productive capacity of each industry, the consumptive capacity of the population; and there is, therefore, no difficulty whatever in taking a decision as to the productive capacity of British industry throughout to meet the necessities of British Citizens. There is no inherent difficulty, also, in devising a financial system whereby this productive capacity shall be related to the existing consumptive capacity. From the known facts, a decision can be taken as to the imports which are necessary, and herein we shall first turn our attentions to the British Empire whose monetary policy identifies with our own. The surplus of production over consumption, which also can be forecast upon the basis of knowledge, will be utilized in exchange for necessary Imperial and Foreign imports. In this way the International ruling financial power will be deposed and finance will be reduced to its functionary position in subordination to the requirements of industry and of the citizen. In other words, *in place of gold as a standard, we shall institute a commodity basis.* In result, the wealth produced by men's brains and hands, and that gotten from Nature will be available to the people, and not held up in order that a small international group shall eventually enslave them. *The real value of Gold is a myth. It serves no human purpose except for the making of trinkets and false teeth; while the bulk of that mined goes straight back into vaults.*

To meet the immediate need, appropriate steps can be taken at once to re-employ hundreds of thousands of men in industries made derelict through the deliberate policy of the Money Masters, *e.g.*, Agriculture, Mining, Steel and Iron, Pottery, Glass, Woollens, Lace, Fabrics and Metal-ware.

## FINANCIAL REFORM

MONEY is a purely instrumental device for distributing human products to those in need of them. That is the only correct view of the use to which the technique of Money should be put. We find, however, money actually controlling Production and limiting Consumption, two arbitrary purposes quite unrelated to human power and to human needs. Consumption, it is obvious, should dictate to Production, but Consumption and Distribution are perverted because money itself is treated as a commodity, an economic reality, instead of as the mere function it should be. Money so administered causes failure in distribution because creations of money, namely, credits, are treated as the property of those who create them; they are limited by arbitrary financial rules, and they are repayable, apart from any consideration of whether they have done their functional work in distributing the goods and services which they were used to produce. Creations of Money for Production have to be recovered in prices; but the difficulty in distribution arises from the withdrawal from circulation of a considerable part of the money necessary to meet these prices. This main feature of the economic situation at any given time results in under-consumption, unemployment, disputes between Capital and Labour and even in International strife. It is too great a factor to be any longer ignored. *There is need for the immediate consideration of a financial technique by which this inversion of the present seat of power shall be brought about.*

### *An All-Controlling Power*

It is generally admitted that Finance is Government; equally will it be admitted upon all the evidence that

money is treated as a commodity. It is clear that the sheer absurdity of the financial system is such that scarcely anyone confronted with it for the first time is able to believe that the situation is really, as it can be shown from quite orthodox sources, to be. The tendency of the Financial system towards "all-controlling" power has been through ever greater centralization with its repercussions upon political, industrial and International affairs. Finance is the controlling power, where it should be the universal servant. The British people are economically illiterate.

When the history of the present age comes to be written, the historian will regard Banking and Finance, as we suffer from it, in the same way as we in our age look back upon medieval witchcraft with amused contempt. The Banking system is monstrous Ju-Ju, sheer Mumbo-jumbo.

It is very difficult, indeed, for the ordinary man to obtain enlightenment upon International Finance: how it works: why the token of wealth should control real wealth: what is the system's vulnerable point—its Achilles heel. But we can perceive it. The human race is not so bereft of wisdom or of inventive genius that it is incapable of devising some new system of Distribution—money system—whereby the capacities of consumption and of production shall meet. The solution of that problem is not, in fact, supremely difficult. The endless repetition of Conferences in every part of the world are wholly unnecessary in solving the problem. The solution requires only the will and the courage. Tradition and pride of race are very near to the heart of courage.

### *No Mystery About Money*

That all is not well with the Money System is evident. That it has become the master rather than the servant both of industry and of man is more or less plain to every member of the community capable of thought. What is not so evident is that there is no inherent

difficulty in changing the monetary technique so that as a system it is to the service of man. Vested interest, that of the Banks, Financial Houses and the Trusts, pretends that in finance there is some mystery, that its technique is beyond the comprehension of ordinary men. Vested interest has inspired a spate of words with which to befog financial questions. Men speak of finance with bated breath. There is endless chatter concerning the Gold Standard, Bimetallism, Inflation and Deflation, all with the object of making the monetary system unintelligible to ordinary people, but with the further objective of preventing the functions of money being questioned, and of obstructing those who would reform the financial system in the interests of both producers and consumers.

Since Major Douglas, admittedly an expert, produced his Social Credit System, both his name and the System itself had been boycotted from all publicity.

That the Financial System is being seriously questioned may be shown for example from the very intelligent writings of Mr. A. de V. Leigh, Secretary of the London Chamber of Commerce, and from contributions to the "Chamber of Commerce Journal" under his signature.

### *Christ versus Anti-Christ*

The popular the Very Rev. R. H. L. (Dick) Sheppard, late of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields and now Dean of Canterbury Cathedral, has written in the following impressive words:

It is a marvellous world and none need want in it, yet men and machines stand idle while many languish for the things they can produce.

In an age of plenty we starve.

Brains in the Board-room plot to curtail production.

Wheat is fired in the field, and coffee dumped into the sea.

We look out on a mad world.

The scientist looks on in despair, and the engineer in anger. Their labours are wasted, their gifts returned with a curse.

We must grasp fully the nature of our trouble. We are amazingly rich in all that constitutes real riches, which means that our financial system does not reflect realities.

The community must control and create money, not according to any artificial standard such as gold, but according to its industrial requirements, and then at length the industrial machine will show its capabilities.

Our leaders in religious thought must speak fearlessly on the moral values in modern economics.

It is not enough to preach principles. It is in the arena of economics that the next battles for Christ must be fought.

We have carried the cross into many fields, but the one where our greatest victories for humanity may now be achieved is where bankers and leaders of high finance, pursuing their own interests instead of planning to meet the needs of the world, have evolved the insane policy of destroying goods already grown or manufactured, together with the policy of restricting output, with the object of keeping wrongful power over the bodies and souls of men and nations.

If money tokens must be distributed in such a way that they are commensurate with the limits of production, so that everyone has enough for their material needs, we have to say so.

If this is the way out from a position which combines the fantastic obscurity of Alice in Wonderland with the horrors of a Grand Guignol play, the Church must demand that no private interests be allowed to stand in the way of its accomplishment.

In a sermon of penetrating analysis and of fine



Christian spirit, the late Rev. Bede Jarratt, of the Roman Catholic St. Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham, broadcasting on Sunday, 21st January, 1934, pointed to the injury which the present monetary system inflicted upon all humanity. And preachers of the Non-conformist Churches have frequently stressed the necessity for incorporating Christian ethics into daily life.

Usury was condemned in unmistakable terms by Jesus Christ Himself. It is condemned throughout the Moslem world; and the Quran emphasizes its evils. Equally in the great philosophies of the Hindus, usury is condemned. This is not to say that adherents of the great world philosophies, whose ideologies are so closely akin, are not often engaged in usury; but this serves only to illustrate the imperfections of human life. It is certainly no function of government to implement such imperfections and to impose them as a System against State interests. Rather is it the business of government to lead, to penalize what is anti-social, to destroy what is evil and to clear the way for perfection. Throughout the world we find the monstrous system of usurious banking imposed upon governments. Yet where you and I can only obtain credit for the development of industrial enterprise and for needs of public necessity and utility against collateral security at high rates of interest, *financial highwaymen rendering no service to the community, and existing as parasites, have been able to secure from the banks untold credits.*

By releasing or restricting credits, the International Banks in London, New York or Paris can create a boom on the Stock Exchanges anywhere convenient to themselves. Their allies and creatures, well-advised in advance, turn such fluctuations to their profitable advantage. No benefit is conferred upon the community by such artificial operations. They interfere with trade and with regular employment. They are the cancer of industrial and corporate life. By restricting credit, the financial vultures starve industry and

throw vast numbers of men into unemployment; and this also is part of the profit technique. They bankrupt honourable businesses, thereafter acquiring the shares at a knock-out price, playing ducks and drakes with all those employed in them.

*It is clear that the root of every evil is the system of usury, a system which sets man against man, establishment against establishment, industry against industry, and nation against nation.*

### *The Banks as Pawnbrokers*

The Limited Liability Company has done much also to increase this evil. The ordered system of parental government in industry and in business may, due to human selfishness, often have had its evils; but personal responsibility and pride of work were characteristic of the earlier system of manufacturing, commercial and agricultural development of this country. The Guild spirit, upon which the Trade Union Organization was founded was a healthy growth; and had not International influences imposed their cruelties upon some Trade Union Leaders, corrupting them, and swept the Trade Union Organization into political channels so conveniently arranged that at the chosen moment the politico-financiers could suppress the Trade Unions themselves, the Guilds might have raised Labour to a high peak of happiness and prosperity.

There is no difference in principle between the Banks of to-day and the common moneylender. The citizen who, to make both ends meet, mortgages his house or obtains an overdraft from the bank against his life policy or pledged securities is only doing on a larger scale what the very poor do when they put their precious chattels in pawn. The Bank acts as pawnbroker.

This is the system of life and of living pursued by every Government and which has been fostered by each successive Government since the War.

*Pound, Leigh, Douglas, Orage, Kitson*

I suggest, further, that a careful examination should be made of "Social Credit". Far too little attention has been given to the work of Pound, Leigh, C. H. Douglas, Orage, Arthur Kitson, and other workers who for the past ten years have been devoting themselves to the evolution and exposition of the new Credit system. The orthodox financier and economist will tell you "there's nothing in it". In these days such a verdict from such sources is the best possible reason for examining the proposals.

The problem is to relate consumptive capacity with productive capacity. There should be no limit to productive capacity so long as consumptive capacity remains unsatisfied. The solution means the end of poverty. Further than this, it means the end of Money Power. Further than this, again, it means that wealth shall not be the deciding factor in government and in social eminence, but genius and virtue. There can be no limit to production other than the satisfaction of consumption. Such devices as Rationalization and Quota Systems which limit production in the interests of financial power alone are not only socially absurd, but they are also opposed to virtue itself. We may well ask how a starving man can be virtuous; while every person possessed of eyes and ears must know that the hideous poverty which is a cancer in our cities and countryside breeds vice and evil of all kinds. In an age of plenty, poverty is unnecessary. Labour-saving machinery and devices instead of decreasing disease and hardship have, in fact, multiplied misery and poverty. And why? The answer is because the genius of man is enslaved to the money power.

One very important fact remains. The assertion will appear perhaps so fantastic that it may be unbelievable. But it is true. Bankers are accustomed to orthodox finance and to nothing else. They do not regard themselves as competent to give a considered judgment upon any financial technique. I believe that

if asked to give such a judgment that they would assert that they are "practical bankers", and not theorists. They would pass any scheme for a new monetary policy, or any new plan of technique, for investigation and report by a number of university professors and other orthodox economists. The bankers would probably assert in advance that not one of the independent reports would agree, though probably each would cling to the Gold Standard as the basis for consideration and pronouncement.

### *Usury the Curse of Man*

The test of any financial system can only be that of right or wrong. It cannot be too often emphasized that the ills from which the world suffers are almost wholly due to a wrong financial system. It is one which has usury as its objective. Usury is condemned in terms which are unmistakable by Christ; and thus it is written. Even so late as the medieval ages the Church condemned usury; and only the Jews were permitted the practice! Usury is condemned also in the Bhavagad Gita of the Hindus and in the Quran of the Moslem world. A system based upon usury is bound, therefore, to produce evil; and its results can be seen all around us throughout the world.

A system based upon production, that is, upon human ingenuity, frugality, enterprise and work, and which includes an invariable Foreign Exchange Rate, itself based upon an agreed national wealth, subscribes to the teaching of Christ, of Islam, and of the ancient Aryan Seers.

### *A Public Inquest Upon Financial Technique*

A true National Government will immediately set up a Royal Commission for the purpose of examining financial technique, and with the object of producing a system, based upon right, whose objective must be the relation of productive with consumptive capacity. The Commission will recommend the stages

by which this new technique shall become operative. The members of this Commission will consist of authorities skilled in finance, representative of labour and of industrial management, to whom will be added representatives of the Professions, the Churches, and of Political Economy. Evidence will be heard from bankers, from orthodox economists and other financial experts. Evidence as to the needs of industry in a financial system will also be taken.

This Royal Commission will be very different from the structure of most others which have preceded it, and wholly different from the World Economic Conference. Before the latter was instituted, I asserted that its deliberations were bound to result in failure. Even had those assembled consisted exclusively of men of goodwill, possessed of unselfish motives, it was absolutely impossible at any time for any nation to agree to place itself indefinitely in the debt of any other; and this broadly could have been the only result. The Conference consisted of groups of force prepared to act together with the object of depressing the standard of life of the peoples represented by the weaker groups. The Conference sought, therefore, to perpetuate wrong. It was bound inevitably to fail.

A Government serving the National interest must place financial reform in the forefront of its programme; and will keep finance under the searchlight of publicity until a system based upon right has been evolved and enacted.

Under the heading "Good Will or Usury?" in the "Journal" of the London Chamber of Commerce, January, 1934, Mr. A. de V. Leigh has ably and simply summed up the meaning of money:

Humanity can have goodwill and peace, but it cannot have usury and peace: it must make its choice. It is quite a mistake to suppose that Shylock gave up his pound of flesh when Portia demonstrated that it would involve his drawing blood to which he was



entitled neither in law nor equity. Reappearing disguised as a kindly surgeon, intent only upon the welfare of the patient, he has performed the operation of taking the flesh and the blood on numberless occasions.

### *First-class Moneylenders*

In previous issues of the JOURNAL it has been shown that under the old system, which is now collapsing, each nation was anxious to have an active "favourable" balance; after it had met all its liabilities to other countries, it wished still to have foreign currencies standing to its credit abroad, due to it either as interest on previous loans or an account of goods sold to those countries. A nation with such an active "favourable" balance could compel the nations with "unfavourable" balances to borrow at interest the balances due from them under threat of having gold taken from them. "Either get more hopelessly into debt to us by contracting another loan, or we will wreck you by taking your gold from you." The threat to take gold was, in fact, a form of moneylender's blackmail, but it was also a bluff, because if the moneylending country did, in fact, take gold in substantial quantities, the whole system was bound to collapse.

Before the War England stood in an unchallengeable position as the world's greatest moneylender. After paying for a given volume of imports by her exports of goods and physical services—e.g., shipping—she was still in a position to take in payment for debts a further large volume of imports against which she was obliged to do no current export at all, and even then had, on an average, a further £200,000,000 due to her from foreign nations in respect of debts. Had she brought this balance back, as she was entitled to do, in the form of gold, she could in four years have accumulated £800,000,000 of gold, which is approximately the amount now held by the United States, and so have wrecked the system. Instead, her ability to take gold from them was a most potent factor in

"persuading" the nations with "unfavourable" balances to put themselves more hopelessly into pawn to her.

When, in the last decade, the United States and France qualified as first-class moneylenders, instead of using their right to take gold as a lever to compel the other nations to borrow, they actually refused to lend and called in the gold. It is one of the first qualifications for a successful moneylender to be able to estimate to a hair's breadth the extreme limit of squeeze which the victim will stand: beyond that point the victim either cuts his own throat or that of his moneylender. His choice will depend partly upon his temperament and partly upon his physical strength compared with that of his tormentor. It is from this point of view that the relative strength of the nations in armaments assumes such great importance.

### *Equitable Discharge of Debt*

Under the proposals of the London Chamber of Commerce, the same principle would be recognized internationally which is recognized nationally. If an individual in this country owes £5 to another, he has discharged his debt when he pays him £5. The £5 is, however, of value only as a claim to goods and services. The debtor is under no obligation to see that his creditor exercises that claim. It is no concern of the debtor whether the creditor chooses to use his £5 to buy goods or services or, on the other hand, prefers to light his pipe with it: it is the giving of the claim which discharges the debt, and not its exercise.

Similarly, when a nation exports its goods and services and is given in exchange a claim on the goods and services of other countries, expressed in their national currencies, it has been paid. Whether it chooses to exercise that claim or not is its own affair. The individual exporter, under the Chamber's scheme, would discount his export bill and would receive pounds. That bill would be rediscounted with the

national Central Bank, so that it would be the nation, through its Central Bank, which would hold the claim on the goods of foreign countries. The individual English exporter would have received pounds, which are what he wants, for his exports. Private individuals and institutions would never hold foreign currencies; these would always be held by the nation through its Central Bank. The Central Bank, having received pounds from the English importer, would then release its foreign currency to pay the foreign exporter. It could, through the proposed Central Bankers' Clearing House, "swap" a claim on one country for a claim on another, always at immutably fixed exchanges.

When a nation exports its goods and services, it does so for one of two reasons. Either it wishes to acquire in exchange the goods and services of other nations, or it wishes to make them a present. There is, in fact, no alternative, because even if the claim created by the export is allowed to accumulate at compound interest in the foreign country, ultimately that interest and that capital must be returned, if at all, in the shape of goods and services.

### *How Money is "Made"*

It will be found, on analysis, that the same principle by which debtors get into a position where it is physically impossible for them to escape from the toils exists in the national monetary system, as it does internationally. It is common parlance to talk of "making" money, but in actual fact the "making" of money is a private monopoly of the banking system. The ordinary citizen, unless he is a forger, cannot "make" money. He can only acquire from some other citizen money already created. Let any reader who has doubts on this point ask himself whether he has ever (a) minted token coins, (b) printed paper money, or (c) made a credit entry in his own favour in his bank's books. He will have no difficulty in replying in the

negative to the first two questions and as to the third he will, on reflection, realize that whenever he has paid in a cheque resulting in a credit to his account, that credit has been balanced by a debit in someone else's account; no additional money has been created by him.

It is true that if he borrows money, at interest, from the bank, and that loan represents an expansion of the total amount of bank credit, and is not counter-balanced by the repayment of a loan by somebody else, more money is, in fact, being put into circulation. It is, however, the bank which is creating money by lending it, although no doubt the debtor plays his humble part, since you cannot lend money unless someone will borrow it, as the banks are now realizing.

### *Why Money is Master*

Let us now assume, for the purposes of demonstration, a society in which there is one bank, representing the banking system with the sole monopoly of creating money, and let us assume that the bank proposes to issue £500 as the total money of the community. It lends each citizen £100 by crediting his account, gives him a cheque-book, and announces its willingness to observe his instructions by cheque in the matter of crediting and debiting his account in relation to the other four. Let us further assume that the bank passes a self-denying ordinance that it will lend no more money for twelve months. However much real wealth, in the form of goods, the five citizens may create in the next twelve months, they are unable to create one single pound of money unless they are forgers, although they will be able to acquire one another's money.

At the end of twelve months, the community will owe to the bank the £500 which it has issued, plus, let us say, 5 per cent interest, £25. How can the community repay the £525 to the bank when the bank has, in fact, only issued £500?

Let us further assume that three of the five citizens have acquired the £200 originally lent to the other two. They are in a position to repay to the bank £105 each and still have nearly £62 each to their credit. They are credit-worthy borrowers, and no doubt the bank will be ready and willing to make them further loans. In this way the community may find itself with £800, £900, or £1,000 in issue. It will, however, owe the bank £840, £945, or £1,050. The point is that *the community always owes, in money, to the bank more money than the bank has, in fact, issued*, because the bank never issues the interest which the community is under obligation to pay.

Let us now consider the case of one of the two men who have paid their money to the other three. He says to the bank: "I used £10 of the £100 you lent me to buy a piece of virgin soil. For the last twelve months I have worked with the utmost diligence and have converted what was originally economically worth little into a piece of land capable of growing a crop. I have used the other £90 to keep me alive whilst doing this work." The bank is at liberty to say to that man: "We are not the least interested to hear how you have been passing your time during the last twelve months: you owe us £105. Where is it?" On his being unable to produce it, they would be able to take from him the real wealth he had created. Alternately, they might lend him another £100 with which to grow a crop. At the end of a further twelve months that man would be under obligation to repay the bank something rather more than £215. He must, therefore, acquire this amount from one of the other citizens, and if he is successful in doing this one of the other citizens must necessarily be unable to meet his obligations.

It will further be appreciated that money is merely a token representing real wealth, and that the new money created by the bank represents nothing at the moment of being put into circulation by a bank loan,



since the community has not then had time to produce the real wealth which this money should later represent. If the community fails to produce new wealth, the new money merely waters down the money already in circulation, and makes each unit of it worth less in terms of commodities—i.e., produces inflation.

Under such a system, so long as the bank is creating and lending new money, the community will be able, out of the new capital sums being lent, to repay the interest on previous loans: this is what is known as a period of boom. Immediately, however, the bank ceases to expand its loans and begins to contract them, the essential vice of the system becomes apparent. It is true that if the community were to sell their goods abroad, the bank would accept from them the foreign currencies so acquired, by way of interest, in lieu of the national currency. If, however, the community were to import foreign goods to the same value as their exports, the two would cancel out, and there would be no foreign currencies available with which to pay interest to the bank. Here, then, is another very compelling reason why every nation is anxious to export and not import, although it is evident that if one nation has a "favourable" balance another must necessarily have an "unfavourable" one. Instead of an exchange of goods and services between nations, to their mutual advantage, the system compels a tooth and claw struggle to acquire the means of satisfying the moneylender. That system definitely conflicts with the conception of good will and international co-operation, and all attempts to reconcile the two must fail. And, since its inception, the League of Nations has never even begun to consider the question !

The main key to all real permanent *Reform*, National Recovery and stabilized general World Progress, must be *Monetary Reform*, the final *overthrow* of the *Gold Standard Hoax*, and real National control of the power

to create and issue money, as well as to control National Credit.

The ultimate aim of British financial policy, uncontrolled by super-capitalism, should be a British Empire currency, but this can only be attained after we have reached a smooth working *British Empire Customs Union*, to which other States must join themselves in a Co-operative World State system.

The first great reform to be undertaken must be Monetary Reform at home, combined with adequate and effective protection for home producers, from whose efforts alone can spring real prosperity and abundant Prosperity for our people.

But nothing will be done to interfere with the smooth running of the Nation's economic life. We shall utilize what exists for the purpose of effecting changes. No one need be alarmed by propaganda. We are going to give the fullness of the earth to the people by changing the system of distribution.

### *A B C of Economics*

Broadly, here follows a simple summary of what such economic thinkers as Ezra Pound ("A B C of Economics"), A. de V. Leigh ("London Chamber of Commerce Journal"), Arthur Kitson and others have been telling the world for a number of years. My attempt here is to lay before a reader the simple facts. He must read and reason for himself. Don't dismiss a thesis because it happens to be a theory. So is an architect's plan or the drawing of an engine.

Darwin told us we came from monkeys. Like human beings, they certainly do a lot of chatter. *But* they don't set up a howl when they're loose among the nutty trees of their own forests. Quite enough nuts to go all round and to spare. A surplus with which even to pelt mere man. It's the same with a donkey in a field. I wouldn't dignify the human family with the name of donkeys. The ass grazes and fills his belly. *Homo sapiens* is so stupid or so wicked that, rather

than possess himself of the fruits of the earth, he just starves. And if you think about it, *man* is the only animal who has got hands that he can use to make things.

Make a distinction between capital and property. Capital implies a kind of claim on others, a right to make others work. Property doesn't. E.g., my bronze by Reynolds-Stephens is my property. Nobody is expected to do anything about it. My shares in the railway company is capital. Somebody's supposed to earn quids a year and pay it to me because I hold such shares. It is possible to remodel the "rights" of capital without attacking the "rights" of property.

### *Why Starve?*

Sane engineers tell us that the question of production is solved. The world's producing plant can produce everything the world needs. This is true. As mechanical efficiency increases, this production will require progressively less human time and effort. The only economic problem needing emergency solution in our time is that of distribution. There are enough goods: there is super-abundant capacity to produce goods in super-abundance. Why starve? It is undeniable that if no one was allowed to work (say in 1935) more than five hours a day, there would be no one out of a job and no family without paper tokens potent enough to permit them to eat. The shortening of the working day (day of paid labour) is the first clean cut to be made. For reasons ethical and social, as well as economic. It is not the whole answer, nor is it the whole science of economics.

### *Perfect Money*

When goods are produced, some recognition of the fact must be made, let us say in the certificates of goods in existence. Here, then, is the proposition—can we say that a perfect money system consists in true certificates of goods extant? Or must we limit the

statement? Does the perfect money system consist in a potent order: deliver these goods? Or is it a fake having no strict correspondence with goods extant? The answer is that the present system is a fake. There is no relation between the money issued and the goods produced. Hence starvation and shortage of goods all round. Hence, also, unemployment; or since employment, as such, is not the problem, lack of purchasing power in the hands of the mass.

Call it a quid, a mark, a franc or a dollar, or anything else you like. If a quid is a certificate of work done (goods produced), and if you produce twice as many as you did yesterday (e.g., mass-production, scientific aid, horse-power, etc.), you have either got to have more quids, *or* you have got to agree, all of you, that the quid that meant one ton, your bushel, or gallon, now means two tons, or bushels, or gallons. At some agreed ratio the certificate must function.

Every economist has to start somewhere. I start on the proposition that every man who is decent enough to be willing to work for his keep, or that of his helpless dependants, immature or old, ought to have the chance of doing a reasonable amount of work. The first step is to keep the working day short enough to prevent any one man doing two or three men's paid work. The second step is the provision of honest certificates of work done, goods produced or transported, discoveries, etc. It may be objected that I'm trying to base the system on will, not on intellect. In proportion as people are without intellectual interests, they approach criminal psychology.

### *Goodwill*

No economic system is worth a hoot without goodwill. No intellectual system of economics will function unless people are prepared to act on their understanding. Counting money as a certificate of work done, the simplest means of keeping money distributed (in legal-tender credit-slips) is to keep work distributed.

As for overtime, let it mean overtime. Let a man work five hours for pay. If he still wants to work after that, let him work as an artist works, let him decorate his home or his garden or take some form of exercise. He would get a much better time out of life. Time is not money, but it is almost everything else. Wages are now measured in currency which is merely a convention. A bit of paper with ten on it is no more difficult to provide than a bit of paper with five or with twenty. There are various agreed schemes which could safeguard the problem of leaving the figure ten on the bit of paper even though the day's work were cut in half.

No one has dared to say that a shorter day would not decrease the number of unemployed. Naturally, there is no great outcry for shorter hours from the workers themselves. It spells less pay to most hearers. But you've only got to extend credit. England gave itself over to the bankers years ago. No one knows why. The nation's got to take back into its own keeping its credit system. That's the only solution. If the nation controls its own credit, we can inflate the currency (increase spending power) up to productive capacity.

A number of lunatics are destroying the goodwill between Great Britain and India because of the false idea that Lancashire people must have India as a market or else starve. In any case, you won't have any trade without goodwill, and it is rapidly vanishing. The "Die-Hard" argument for India implies "Safeguards" for the super-financiers, private people. We learn our lessons hardly. Perhaps when we've been kicked or non-co-operated out of India, we'll wake up to a sane system of economics.

### *The Implication of Citizenship*

When enough exists, means should be found to distribute it to the people who need it, e.g., Lancashire shirts and Leicester boots for the people of London, and London's manifold services for the people of



Lancashire and Leicester. It is the business of the nation to see that its own citizens get their share before worrying about the rest of the world. If not, what's the use of being united as a State? What's the meaning of "citizen"? When the potential production, that is, the possible production, of anything is sufficient to meet everyone's needs, it is the business of the individual to see that production *and* distribution are achieved. If you really want to do something about it, if you really do think we're in an awful mess and not really getting any better (despite the rigged statistics of employment—true figures are roughly 4,000,000), if you really think that *you* ought to do something about it, and if you really *fear* that war is the only other solution, why don't you get your Representatives and Candidates for Parliament seriously to study and expound economics? Your bread and butter and jam, if any, matter most. Why not leave Germany, Italy and Japan and France to mind their own affairs for a bit? After all, most of the frothy people who talk about Hitler and Mussolini have never been in Germany or in Italy to see what's going on, while most of those who have been are the paid hacks and lackeys of various "interests". Cut out non-essentials. Are we a nation of hypocrites? Have we done the best we can with our own people, with our own country *and* with those for whom we are responsible? We claim to be "trustees for humanity". Suppose we are. Trustees at law may make no profit out of their trust. Square that with our job for humanity! Let's put our own house in order. *And when we've done it*, then we can lecture the world.

## THE LAND AND THE WORKER

### *The Principles of Taxation*

RIGHT in the foreground of a true National Policy is the development of the land. Nothing must deter us from pursuing an Agricultural Policy with the utmost vigour. There are three main points to press. These have been emphasized elsewhere. To recapitulate, they are—first, that to furnish the nation with its own home-grown food is the surest, and, in fact, the only, certain means of national defence. Second, that no nation can be considered healthy without a strong and vigorous agricultural community; and that the idle, naked, unploughed and untilled fields and pastures of Great Britain are both sin before God and a crime against the British people. Thirdly, that to re-engage hundreds of thousands of men, at present unemployed, upon the land and in the agricultural industry is the first and obvious task of any statesman. Such a Policy will immediately relieve the community of an immense burden of taxation, while simultaneously converting the unemployed into producers and as consumers of the products of British industries, factories and workshops.

A true National Government will not tolerate the absentee landlord; while, should the landowner prove recalcitrant or inefficient, his lands must be taken over in the national interest, so that they may be developed for the benefit of the community. We envisage a new era of co-operative farming and of small holdings. The landowner, protected by a true National Government, will be expected to develop the whole of the land's resources to the utmost: and he will receive every possible governmental aid in so doing.

Agriculture must, therefore, receive the first attention and action by the National Government.

The land is the most valuable asset of our country. Rightly used in providing its glorious open spaces for the people's cultural enjoyment, the land serves as the most profound inspiration of our Race. It must be a National Policy, therefore, to provide Open Spaces for the people, to safeguard a number of National Parks, throughout England, Scotland and Wales; and in the region of our great cities to make available to the people tracts of country in order to stimulate the out-of-door Movement, and to foster camping, tramp-ing and the spirit of man at one with Nature.

A National Workers' Policy is to encourage and develop the agricultural resources of Great Britain; and it is firmly opposed to the taxation of land, though it will not permit profiteering in Urban land values. It is our Policy to repeal the land taxes on the Statute Book. By these, which temporarily are in suspension, it is proposed to levy a rate on the valuation of improved land. This ridiculous suggestion invites National suicide. These taxes will not strike at the speculator and profiteer in land values, but are designed to hit the original landowner. The assaults upon them by so-called Socialist legislation has made it impossible for landowners to develop the land; and any improvements which they have introduced <sup>we</sup> the benefit of the land itself, or for the tenant farmers and farm labourers, have been penalized by taxation.

### *Expropriation "Planned"*

The objective of this anti-social legislation has been to expropriate those in whom is vested the chief responsibility for the preservation of the character of the British Race.

The land taxes are based upon class hatred; and they are, therefore, of vital importance to the Bol-shevik. Farming in this and in every other country can only be successfully carried on, as everyone

acquainted with farming knows, provided that the farmer is not oppressed and is permitted to express his individual genius. Granted a *protected* agricultural industry, there would be no difficulty whatever in eliminating absentee landlords and inefficient farmers from exercising a control of the land and in the organization of a Marketing Plan in the joint interests of farmers and consumers. A National Workers' Movement would express its faith in the farmers of Great Britain, and extend to them its confidence, believing that in the farmers there abides, in its highest expression, the characteristics of the British Race. They must contribute their best to the life and prosperity of the Nation.

Take a train or motor journey through any part of England and note for yourself the acres and acres and acres of barren land, and then consider the vast number of men who might be employed in the agricultural and market gardening industry. Go to the docks or to Smithfield market or Covent Garden and see the foreign frozen meat, and mountains of foreign vegetables and fruit.

## HOW TO CLEAR THE SLUMS

### *Mean Streets*

MEAN streets are mean because the builders made them so. Not the fault perhaps of those who laid the bricks and crowned them with stacks, belching smoke: certainly not that of those condemned to live in tenements which people call home, but the crime of those in authority who have been satisfied with slums.

There is not a city, there is scarcely a small town, in Great Britain without its mean streets. In the larger cities—London, Glasgow, Manchester, Leeds or Liverpool—the rows of flat-faced tenements rearing their ignoble heads above the narrow, sunless alleyways, are monuments to the spirit of an age—a period which boasts of prosperity and of the magnificence of an Empire, while the mass of the population has swarmed in these festering prisons. And there are other streets of muddled cottages, crammed the one against the other, small dim-lit rooms from which men go to toil in the bowels of the earth, and amid monstrous machinery, or close-closeted, their backs bent over rows of figures expressing the National wealth; and women go through the never-ending drudgery of cleaning, mending, preparing meals and tending the sick. The children have their playgrounds in the mean, dirty streets. They grow with curved spines, knock knees, pigeon-chested, and stunted; and this we call “rickets”, but throughout the world it is known as “the English disease”. It is the triumph of the sunless streets, the crown which ensures after-disease in adult life, and makes it certain that childbirth will be the agony over which the medieval wiseacres gloated. Disease flaunts itself in the slums: dirt is piled on dirt. Statisticians like to chatter of “a criminal class”, and slums provide the material for



their inquisition. Nature has armed the slum dwellers with friends: they are not merely a pastime, reacting the one on another as a relief to life: they are condemned before birth as "criminals", but there is an immortal comradeship, one which deprived of all the means carries a spiritual warfare into the enemy's camp.

### *Spiritual Bankruptcy*

Mean streets exist that comfortable ladies, and men brought up in smug respectability, may use them as a conscience-salve, a foil for the bankruptcy of their own spiritual life. It is yet popularly held that anyone who has appeared three times in a Police Court will make a successful inhabitant of Canada; and Societies with West End Headquarters vie with one another in the collection of cast-off clothing, mutilated toys and plum puddings, with which to bring joy to the Mean Streets. And when they patronize them with a visit, they return to confide in one another "the blank ingratitude which they have found".

"I teach you not to be the neighbour, but the friend," wrote the philosopher Nietzsche. "Let the friend be for you the festival of earth and a foretaste of beyond-man. . . . Let the value of everything be fixed anew by yourselves. Therefore ye shall be fighters. Therefore ye shall be creators." What do we find? In every European country one class, openly despising the higher nature of man, and therefore the higher nature of love, has drawn into its toils high and low, the high to gamble and speculate with it, the low to drudge and slave for it, until at last this single class—the monied middle-class—has become one huge maw, into which everything is drawn or driven, solely for the sake of surplus profit, and out of which everything emerges again debased and degraded. Mean streets have arisen, and are still arising, because the purpose for which they are built is not to enshrine human beings

in their love and comradeship in homes worthy of the higher beings; but because they are builded for profit. When a man builds for money gain, no limit can be imposed upon his profit. The speculator in land first takes his whack; the bank intervenes to advance wages and the price of material; hosts of unco-ordinated services, supplying amenities, must be satisfied. The interest on the whole must be paid. And this is rent, one which must inevitably strangle the wage-earner and place a premium upon all cultured life. The product inevitably is the mean street.

### *Patronage is Not Enough*

Look around your own cities and observe the shame of what we call "civilization". Do not judge those who dwell therein, for the verdict of centuries goes against yourselves. If the rooms are furnished with shabby sticks, where the industry and craft of makers can furnish them anew, the fault is yours, for you uphold the system. If men are too often drunk and women dishevelled and short-tempered, you will remember that sometimes in bitterness man must drown grief, or look upon the world with a mind dimmed to its grim reality. And you must realize that the paralysis of dirt, against which slum-dwellers have no defence, in the end destroys a woman's sweetness. You will realize that children whose skin is blotched with irritant sores, and for whom what is termed charity—which is not love—provides an "outing" once or twice a year, will, from their earliest understanding, hate you, and even hate the beauty of their motherland because it is associated with the patronage of an "outing" which you deny them every day.

To free the world from the tentacles of this single usurping class, love—as the great creative passion from which alone renewed great living can proceed—has to be born again, and it has to find a sufficient motive for being born. That motive, I affirm, is finding itself

to-day in the shaping of a vast new religious ideal of comradeship, whose object is entirely to overthrow the existing form of society and to build up a new society in its place. As that new form of society is builded, no one will dare to build mean streets. Men speak of "slums" as if it were an economic question only, that of marshalling families in modernized dwellings, and of preventing revolt. It is something infinitely more than that. "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof", and never in all the history of man was there such fullness. To erect more mean streets is not the answer to the slums. The summons of a new spirit of comradeship is growing from man to man, and from nation to nation. The time is at hand when those who are satisfied with patronage will fear to visit their own handiwork. They will be hooted and hissed from the hells which they have created; and this will be from the spirit of love, the casting out of devils.

Poverty, disease and crime are near neighbours. But they are not the friends of man; nor have they any dwelling in the homes which man can make.

The State is responsible for its Citizens. They must, therefore, be housed as befits a great nation. Ever since the War "the housing problem", which is really no problem at all, has been a feature of the programmes and of the chatter of rival political parties. Under pressure a great number of houses have been built, though these do not absorb the enormous development of the British population which during the past twenty years has increased by about three millions.

Many houses have been built by private enterprise, and if anyone inquired into the finance of these undertakings, it would clearly be discovered that while the moneylenders have benefited, the community has suffered. In fact, the houses which have been built might have cost far less, while enormous profits have been made from the community by speculators in land values.

No doubt much good has been done by architects and builders working hand-in-hand and by men with vision who have sought to lay out "garden cities" and the like. But unfortunately such good work has not been general. Masses of jerry-built houses have appeared all over the country, defacing its beauty and destroying its traditional aspect. Men who have no sense of form or order, of domestic science and of architecture, in the guise of builders, have shot up hosts and hosts of dwellings which disgrace the name of homes. So-called building societies, which are nothing other than money-lending concerns, have financed small builders at outrageous rates of interest to crowd houses together on land acquired by themselves at a knock-out price, and with the crazy houses resold on mortgage to people who must have houses and will be in pawn for life.

### *Mortgaged Up to the Eyes*

The solution of the housing problem, rather than being the active expression of the State's responsibility for its citizens, has become merely another way by which financial power can exploit the community in its own interests. The objective is not to provide homes for the people, but to introduce but another way by which desperate human need shall be exploited by finance. Another outlet for Usury !

Much might be said concerning the destruction of the landscape and the making hideous of country towns and villages. A government concerned with the preservation of national traditions would have recognized that in the arts is a mirror of the nation from age to age. Such a government, as a condition of its policy, would have insured that no buildings should be permitted to go up which did not incorporate the character and tradition of their locality and thus bring an end to an era of outlandish buildings which everywhere disgrace a cultured people. The depths to which successive governments have sunk in their grasp for

power and in their truckling to their financial masters is to be seen in the houses which they have countenanced and in which successive Ministers of Health appear to glory. It should not be left to private Associations to save historical buildings and inspiring landscapes from the greed of the land speculator. This is the duty of Government itself.

In defence of its people and to enable them, Government, too, should have penalized land speculation and protected both the Building Trade and house-seekers against the blackmail of the financier. Government has done nothing of the kind. The honest builder has been harassed in all his operations: the house buyer has paid and is paying far more than is necessary; a high proportion of the houses which have been built are a disgrace to a self-respecting nation, while the financier has got away with the swag.

### *To Create Cultural Momentum*

This is but one aspect of the question of housing. There remains as an irritant and sore in every city, and even in every small town, its slum area. It passes my comprehension that such conditions of living can have been tolerated so long. I am, of course, familiar with the argument that slum dwellers want nothing else, and that if given decent homes will reduce them to slum conditions within a few months, and that there are many people who, if provided with a bathroom, will use the bath as a coal-cellar. I do not pretend for a moment that there are not perhaps many people who are lazy, indolent and vicious. But I do know that cleanliness and good order in the home is a question of education and of example and of environment. I am satisfied that the educational system of the country, were it inspired by a government which set a high value upon idealism and national traditions, would co-operate to eliminate abuse. The mere fact of removing unemployment and replacing it by occupation and discipline among the young would in itself provide



an incentive to a higher standard of life in the home. Further, the association of young people together from various grades of society in common service to the State, in occupation camps, in national physical training and in community welfare work, all of which together are a part of the domestic policy of a true National Government, would speedily eliminate the inertia and depression which produce a diseased and dirty environment. No matter how much building may be accomplished, there will always be slums so long as government fails to lead its people and to focus its mind upon higher national endeavour. Fresh national impetus must inevitably reproduce itself in each one of its citizens, and that is the answer to those who, with insufficient thought and with little knowledge of human nature, suggest that there is a class of people in this country who must always fail to respond to an urge to better ways of living.

### *Slums Must be a Thing of the Past*

We cannot evade the thought also that the building of disgraceful houses, clustered tightly together, within a few short years will only produce fresh slum areas which themselves will have to be cleared. Though there has been some talk of Planning, in most cases the planning has been left to an administrative bureaucracy, wherein the artist and architect and the landscape gardener in their highest expression are almost wholly absent. If a thing is worth doing at all, it is common-place to say that it is worth doing well. And it would have cost very little more, if anything at all, to do it well. But where the Planner and the Architect are driven to build where land is not held up by selfish vested interest, and where each must limit, cut, circumscribe, and curtail the ideal by the high price of land which has suddenly acquired urban value, then there is little chance indeed for any satisfactory solution of housing and of the slum problem. The latter will not be cured by pulling down tumble-

down houses unfit for human habitation and re-erecting other huddled dwellings which within half a century themselves will be tumbledown. The problem must receive the attention of men of action who are wholly differently-minded from those who serve the money masters.

### *Man Tackles the Task*

There is one certain way by which the slum problem can be solved. Let us suppose that a man is entrusted with the task of completing slum clearance within two years. For this purpose it will be conceded that he must be possessed of full authority and that, being a man of ability and determination, he will use his powers with discretion and with knowledge of human psychology and its needs, and that he is possessed of a sense of British culture so that in the accomplishment of his task he will not only not offend, but in building for utility will add also æsthetic charm.

On the first day of his appointment, Man enters his office, a large room, on the walls of which he has commanded overnight that there shall be placed maps of the whole country, and each crowded community of each urban district and of each large town. Each map has been coloured in black, showing the slum areas. He will not take everything for granted as to this, and having set his plan in motion, will make a later investigation for himself. For this purpose, aircraft and motor-cars are at his disposal where he commands.

### *How He Gets to Work*

The black areas will be the first to be destroyed. His desk provides him with immediate communication with the appropriate authority in the Ministries of Health, Labour and Transport. Such statistics as he requires can be given to him at the ring of a bell. Then his procedure will be something as follows, for example:

In the town of A is a black area, consisting of four

eets covering an area of  $2\frac{1}{4}$  acres with 172 houses. There is a population in this area of 1,800 persons, apart from a number of lodgers for whom accommodation must also be found. The number, in fact, would not probably be less than this. Three considerations pass through Man's mind.

First, temporary accommodation must be found for approximately 2,000 people. There are well-known firms of manufacturers who specialize in the construction of temporary metal and timber houses. A subordinate is instructed to summon such manufacturers for a conference.

As far as is practicable, each manufacturer will be entrusted with undertaking part of the total scheme. Man arranges that such temporary housing will be erected at A ready to transfer to B and so on; while another manufacturer will be given series, say E to H and so on. Expenditure on temporary structures will be limited, and will be acquired up to the limit of the two years' plan. Nor will there be any waste of such temporary structures, for in part, following their use, they will be utilized thereafter in connection with the occupational Centres for the Unemployed as Pavilions, Club Houses and Hostels in connection with the schemes for National Physical Training, National Playgrounds and Youth Hostels.

Man arranges to launch his scheme in the spring months. He does so because at this season people are accustomed to rehousing, the Building Trade is active and can reabsorb unemployed into the industrial life of the nation without taking away from the Building Trade men who would ordinarily in its busy season be engaged on full-time work. The pleasanter weather will invite people to leave the slums to go to the green fields and to quasi-camping conditions without completed drainage systems and all the amenities of city life, electric light and baths being among the first considerations herein.

### *Moving Slum Tenants*

To each tenant of the slum dwelling Man addresses a letter, informing him that on, say, 25th April he will move to the new temporary dwellings for four months. The circular will contain a picture of the temporary dwellings and a plan of the accommodation. Any further accommodation required by a tenant in respect of large family, sick relations and so forth will be acquired on the site by application to the Local Authority who will consider difficult cases; but citizens will be asked to accept a possible temporary inconvenience and to enter into the spirit of quasi-camp life with zeal. A picture of the new dwelling with a map as to its position and scale plan of accommodation will accompany the circular.

The Ministry of Transport, in conjunction if necessary with the War Office, the Admiralty and the Air Ministry, will be instructed to furnish transport to remove tenants from the black areas to the temporary accommodation on 25th April. Tenants are advised that this will be done. In order not to dislocate ordinary transport and to provide portorage, the Services will be requested to co-operate where necessary with the removal.

Manufacturers will have already completed temporary structures. Water will have been made available and, where possible, drainage will have been arranged. Where this is not practicable, cess-pools will have been dug and arrangements made with Local Councils to clear them.

The day named is 25th April, and on this date seven hundred persons are removed from the black area to the temporary dwellings. But Man at his organization centre has done other things. The maps on his wall have shown other areas marked in green and red. Those marked green represent land which, having regard to its healthy position and the supply of Public Utilities, it has been agreed by Local Authority are the best sites for a new housing estate. Man will satisfy

himself that this is so and that these areas have not been chosen as the result of undue influence being permitted to operate in the Council Chamber against the best interests of the community. The red Areas, which will usually adjoin the green, will show plots of land which are available for temporary structures and which can afterwards be converted into open spaces, playgrounds and so forth for the benefit of those dwelling in the new houses. Thus, wherever new housing goes up playgrounds are provided, so that no extension of a city crowds out health and life from the people.

*National Holidays to Replace those of Usury*

Perhaps it is desirable to add that it is, of course, unnecessary to erect temporary structures in which to house slum-dwellers while new accommodation is being erected. Not necessary, but certainly desirable. Desirable in order that there shall be an interval between the environment of dirt, disease and what-does-it-matter-it-can't-be-worse, and an entirely changed circumstance. Any intelligent person can realize the desirability of such an environmental interval by observing Hampstead Heath or any other public park after a Bank Holiday.—We shall depose “Bank Holidays” and in their place provide National Holidays. Why not named after great British institutions and cultural leaders?—Generations of slum-dwellers have lowered human instinct in respect of dirt and similar social conditions: hence advantage must be taken of the possibility of an educational opportunity, unless the same conditions are to be repeated in the new dwellings.

The whole question of housing invites attention to the Hundred New Towns Scheme. Admittedly, there can be little possibility for the development of this plan unless and until the technique of the financial system has been so modified or revolutionized that the plan can be launched with its finances guaranteed by the National Credit without interest.



*Building and Land Acquisition*

Man in his office has summoned the leaders of the Building Trades, including the Trade Unions. He has made it clear that he will not tolerate shoddy houses and that in each area the architectural plan must subscribe to the traditional character of the countryside. He will not tolerate a deadening uniformity throughout the land, but desires architects to express themselves in the spirit of the race, making use of and bending to their art such modern discoveries as cement. Local authorities will be represented and will be entrusted with the task of co-operation and of binding the new housing estates within the civic whole. Estimates will have been invited from builders, and here a big building corporation will not be permitted to swamp the smaller and local builder. For the purpose of financing the scheme, therefore, a National Housing Loan will be floated by the State itself, and builders will be able to draw on this capital to enable their own enterprise. The rent of such houses, which will be free of the high rates of interest paid through the usual financing corporations to builders, will be at the lowest level and will be payable to the local authority responsible to Man.

Man will have powers to acquire land at a fixed price. Man will not tolerate endless committees, courts and lawyers holding up the acquisition of land for the purpose of his scheme. Where land exists and is required for his scheme, Man will acquire it. This is not to suggest that he will ride roughshod over the rights of private property; and if there may be hard cases, they will be heard with sympathy, following the first reasonable price in compensation for acquisition, but they will not be permitted to hold up the scheme. The land will be acquired. The lawyer may argue afterwards if it is considered that there has been unfairness in respect of any purchase. Let it be repeated, the State is responsible for its citizens. Private greed and grievance will not be permitted to stand in

between Government and the People. The duty of a Government is to govern.

### *Open Spaces and Playgrounds*

In the case taken as an example, therefore, on 26th April the slum area in A is vacant. It will be destroyed. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred this area, which by its very nature suggests congestion, will be converted into an open space and playground, a ventilation in the centre of the city. No other houses will be permitted to be erected thereon. As to compensation for the slum landlord, it would be unreasonable to attach a social stigma to him, for indeed the landlord may often be many persons whose small savings have in years gone by been invested in property which has degenerated to that of the slum area. But this is not to suggest that sympathy for an individual shall be allowed to interfere with the scheme. Slum landlords have enjoyed their dividends for many years. In many cases the original capital investment of each property has long since been repaid. Man will pay no attention to the rise in land values in a slum area due to the natural growth of the community and the extension of the city. This is an immoral consideration. Slum landlords will be compensated against actual loss of rent and no more, it being borne in mind also that slum dwellings are what they are largely to the failure of the slum landlord to carry out renovations, to modernize and to rebuild. Selfishness cannot expect to be rewarded, and can only hope for a little sympathy. The Slum landlord disappears. Years ago, in 1923, from my platform, I elaborated a scheme for a National Housing Corporation. This present scheme is nowhere divergent from what was then suggested.

### *National Needs to Precede Vested Interest*

Man has a further task. The slum area is coming down and is being converted into a playground. The new houses are going up and are being furnished with

public utilities and services. The waiting tenants are spending the summer months in temporary dwellings; and as soon as their houses are ready for occupation, they will move into them, say, on 25th August; and thereafter the temporary dwelling will be removed to B and C until, at the end of two years, slum areas no longer exist. Man's additional task, through the Ministries of Education and of Health, is to advise, guide and inspire those, who have only known the degradation of a slum environment, to acquire the habit of mind and of body to enter with their families into new homes, homes which are worthy of the respect of their dwellers and of the country in which they live. I have sufficient faith in my fellow men to believe that this part of Man's task will prove the most easy. If there are any difficulties to be faced, they will be found in the obstruction of the landlords, in the greed of financiers and possibly in a failure to co-operate among the operatives in the building trade. But in this latter respect I am confident that the obstructive tactics of the past will have been removed by means of governmental action, embracing all its citizens, which has set national needs as a whole in front of vested interest and private necessity. At the close of two years, when this scheme will have fulfilled itself, much will have happened. The governmental Agricultural Policy of a National Workers' Movement will have opened up the land of Great Britain to farming. Empire development will have awakened fresh opportunities. Skilled men and unskilled labourers will be required in all the industries in which a period of two years has awakened fresh life. I have every confidence that if in the building trades there would be found to be a surplus of men, they could readily be reabsorbed usefully into the national life of the country by generous co-operation throughout the Trade Union structure which in a National Workers' Movement has become wholly identified with the functions of government.

## NATIONAL PHYSICAL TRAINING

FOR twelve years I have been actively engaged in advocating National Physical Training as a National Policy, contributing to it my voice and pen. By such Training is implied something which is purposive both physiologically and psychologically to be the background of mere games-playing and un-co-ordinated exercise. The purpose behind this campaign has been cultural—Man at one with Nature, refinding himself in the beauty and responding to the rhythm of his native countryside, and re-establishing himself with the soil from which he has sprung. City civilization and the mechanistic life have taken away from man. National Regeneration has been the urgent, often inarticulate, spiritual cry of the masses of men and women. The Movement for National Physical Training and for the Open Air was the response to this cry; and wherever barriers stood in the way, whether those of convention, obstruction in the provision of camping sites, working hours, lack of playgrounds, I have fought for the attainment of the ideal.

### *The Fullness of the Earth*

This policy has been part only of a more general cultural campaign for the Regeneration of the British people. It is a broad plank in the platform of the National Workers' Movement, which itself is designed to secure for the British people their heritage. Its purpose is further to reincorporate into the community the joy of living: to relate the immense wealth of capacity for production with the ever-growing consumptive capacity which under present conditions expresses itself so often only in starvation: to make available to the people the discoveries of science freed from the obstructions of vested interest: to raise the

arts which are being degraded to mere animism to higher cultural levels: to garner the matchless traditions of Great Britain and of the Empire as the inspiration for national endeavour for the future. Just as the quest of the open air responds to what is in the heart of man, so also the full policy of a National Workers' Movement may be described as a series of heart-beats, to the fulfilment of which brave intellects and stout hearts are only necessary.

### *The Schools*

Apart from my many contributions to the Press and chapters in *Footslogger* and in *Meteor* devoted to physical culture, to the renaissance of the arts, I have watched very carefully what is being done in the schools. It is wholly inadequate, and very often valueless because not based upon sound physiological principle and carried out in haphazard fashion.

There is a tremendous over-emphasis given to organized games as opposed to purposive physical and recreational training. The results are to be seen in the after-health of the population, in ill-health, overflowing hospitals, insanity and crime. Educationists, but especially parents, should realize that physical training should not cease at the age of fourteen. It should be continued certainly up to the age of twenty. The astonishing results obtained among recruits in the Royal Air Force, the Army and the Navy are evidence of what can be achieved through purposive physical training. If it is considered necessary in the fighting services, quite obviously it is even more so among the citizen population, both male and female. The men in the Services, after all, lead a life with ample leisure for recreation, almost wholly out-of-doors, exposed to sun and air. The citizen population, on the contrary, for the most part is confined to its cities, wherein the sun is obscured by a screen of carbon, while factories, offices and workshops are gloomy and depressing, often also being ill-lighted, ill-ventilated and harbingers



of disease. Shorter working hours, the abolition of the slums, the provision of open spaces and playgrounds will no doubt change much of this. But in order to recapture health, physical training must be developed upon a national scale. Boxing, Swimming, Running, purposive Physical Exercises are of far higher value than Football, Cricket, or other organized games. The Sherwood Colliery Demonstration which I organized, and some details of which are contributed in a chapter in *Footslogger*, showed me quite clearly what can be achieved even in a short space of time among the poorest in the community. The building of the body is not only a matter of physical training. It is almost as much a matter of nutrition and of an educational campaign devoted to dietetic values among the masses.

### *The Worker's Diet*

Two important committees, those of the Medical Research Council under the Ministry of Health, and the British Medical Association, have recently conducted independent investigations with the object of ascertaining the minimum diet of workers consistent with health. A number of pamphlets have been printed also by the Stationery Office, the most important of which are "On the State of the Public Health in 1932", "Health of the School Child", "A Criticism and Improvement of Diets". Every authority appears to be agreed that a large part of the population, especially among children, is suffering from malnutrition. In fact, it is true to say that in the Distressed Areas and elsewhere great numbers of people are living below starvation level. I make this statement on the basis of the reports of the two eminent Committees already noted, having regard to the current price of necessary food stuffs.

Is the State responsible for its citizens? Are we satisfied that a large part of the population should suffer a slow physical vitiation with all its degrading

results upon the mind and posterity? So it would seem. Thousands of tons of sugar and of coffee have been thrown into the sea. The East Coast Fishing Fleet has been reduced by one hundred and fifty vessels, and tons of fish are used as manure and are even thrown back into the sea. The fruit orchards in America have been burned to decrease production, while one and a half million oranges were thrown into the sea last year in order to keep up the price. World-wide agreements have been made to reduce the production of wheat, while at the same time the rich lands of Britain lie unploughed and untilled. This is sheer wickedness. I challenge the system which produces it.

### *Milk*

The price of milk for human consumption has been raised to 3½d. a pint, while ten million gallons a month are sold to manufacturers at ½d. a pint to be converted into buttons, toothbrush handles, knife handles and so on. A Newcastle dispensary report shows that in a small area the population have only 0.39 pints per head per week of tinned milk and 0.33 pints of fresh milk. In Paisley the consumption is little over half a pint per day, in Wakefield one-third of a pint, and in Bethnal Green one quarter.

The Agricultural Correspondent of *The Times*, writing on February 12th, 1934, states: "It may be true that more harm is caused to the health of the nation by the under consumption of milk than by occasional samples of doubtful cleanliness". In fact, though a high proportion of the British population cannot afford to buy sufficient milk for the vital needs of the race, owing to its artificially upheld price, the gravest possible harm is inflicted therefrom upon the population. The National Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis, in 1933, published a pamphlet titled "Casual Factors in Tuberculosis", resulting from prolonged clinical investigations by Dr. Bradbury, M.D., D.Ph.

### *Surrender to Tuberculosis*

Speaking with authority, Dr. Bradbury asserts that: "Tuberculous families consume less meat, butter and milk per head than non-tuberculous families. The greatest deficiency occurs in the case of milk. The data are quite consistent with the assumption that the inadequacy of milk in the diet is a contributory cause of tuberculosis. . . . In view of the general finding that undernourishment (and overcrowding) predisposes to tuberculosis, there appears to be some justification for regarding an insufficiency of fresh milk as being more important than shortage of other foodstuffs studied in predisposing to tuberculosis in an urban area." Tuberculosis, as everyone knows, is the scourge of our cities: it is the fear of every mother; and thousands of persons are panting out life in our hospitals; moreover, it is contagious. The Nation deliberately disarms itself in the fight against disease that a system of usury shall be satisfied.

The question which we must ask ourselves is whether we are lunatics to tolerate such a state of affairs, or whether we are going to take government into our own hands, and conduct the State in the interests of the people. In other words, are we going to change the financial system, based upon usury and greed, for a money technique which will contribute to the people the fruits of the earth?

Physical exercise, that is the training of the body, should always be conducted out-of-doors with the body stripped to sun and wind. Inclement weather would be the only exception. There is not a Medical Officer of Health in this country who will disagree with my reiteration of this point. The sun is the great healer, the greatest antiseptic known to science—and it costs nothing. Only stupid prudery, ignorance, and the indecent mind of authority prevent such physical training from being universal. I have written at length on this subject in my book, *Meteor*.

Writing one glorious sunny morning in early spring,

I had just returned from visiting several schools. In the playgrounds were groups of boys being drilled. Nothing less. They were clad in thick garments, buttoned up, with caps on their heads. And here is the sun, waiting to cleanse, able to build bone and tissue, competent to wipe out disease. A light wind, in which still there remains the breath of early frost, is denied the right to flush the lymph in the blood and to stimulate the nerve ends. Little boys in buttoned jackets march solemnly round: whereas intelligent, purposive, physical training would have insisted that someone should shout: "Off with your shirts!" And the boys, thus stripped, would have first engaged in physical training under someone who really knows his job, and is possessed of a sense of the rhythm of life; and thereafter would have been turned to disporting themselves in physical exercise games.

Ignorant notions concerning the nature of colds, fussy parentage and prudish "nosey-parkers" stand in between the children of Great Britain and good health.

National Physical Training implies something further than mere exercise. It must be designed to recapture the joy of living, to enable people to rediscover themselves in nature and in their eternal rhythm with all creation. Development along these lines carries with it a renaissance in the arts and throughout the whole cultural field.

### *A National Stadium*

At the present time there are lacking in our cities any great stadiums and recreational centres. In London, the hub of the universe and the capital of the country, there is no such centre of culture. A project which I have long advocated, and which is within immediate realization, is to build in Hyde Park a vast amphitheatre for public games, contests and displays. Its dimensions should be great and its design noble. The finest stones and timbers should be used for the pur-

pose. The vulgarity of advertisements which characterize race courses and football grounds, would have no place in this stadium. Its objective would not be money-making, or championships for mammoth money prizes, but on the contrary, National Cultural Development. Surrounding the amphitheatre and prominently displayed everywhere would be sculpture indicative of the national life.

More than all else, labour itself would be ennobled in sculptural form. It is an amazing thing that although there are countless statues of kings and queens, frock-coated statesmen, generals on their horses, and groups denoting the power of the Empire, there is not one single statue devoted to the nobility of labour. I can conceive of nothing finer in sculptural art than a series of sculptured groups in bronze devoted to the miner, farmer, printing, to transport, women's work, and so on. If the National Government can spend £100,000 upon the purchase of a manuscript from Russia, surely the people can expend something from the national income for the purpose of enshrining the nobility of labour in the public mind; surely the State can contribute to cultural productive effort by the encouragement of British sculptors and craftsmen in providing a focus for national cultural development.

National Physical Culture, and beyond this, the development of sculpture and the arts and crafts in harmony with that of physical culture, engages the important attention of a true National Government.



## WHAT ABOUT THESE SHIRTS?

LONG before people had begun to establish the shirt as a political credo, I had advocated the open shirt for work . . . and for play. I had made war upon the top hat, upon that most disgraceful of human ornaments, the bowler, and upon that most irritating of masculine attachments, the collar-stud. Man is a political animal: so said the sage. And garments have always exerted the strongest influence upon life.

My most horrible memory from schooldays is that of the high, cut-throat collar. I suppose, in an age which arranges its affairs upon the (to me astonishing) theory of rewards and punishments, that I deserved punishment, but I can hardly believe that I deserved it all the time or that my fellow-sufferers were equally deserving. Then I was commissioned into the Regular Army, in which I was nearly suffocated. The War, with its attendant dangers, was a tremendous relief. I would gladly have suffered all the horrors of modern warfare to be free from the torture of a tunic, skin-tight trousers, and Wellington boots. But ever since the War I have been free to discard a hat and to wear shorts and an open shirt, which I did, at first to the astonishment of my neighbours, but to which after some years they not only became accustomed but followed. On Sundays and on Saints' Days thousands of English schoolboys are committed to hygienic purgatory and to gross bodily discomfort. The Saints, in their outer coverings, were undoubtedly the saintlier because their limbs were bared to the sun and winds, and their scanty coverings were little more than skins or loose coverings. I cannot contemplate boys being imbued with more saintlier notions under the stress of martyrdom to stiff collars and cheerless clothing.

*Historical Significance of Clothes*

Saintliness is, after all, first and foremost a cheerful business. Why, then, the black-coated, hard-collared infliction upon a feast day? I suggest there is apparent an association of idea between, for example, the Puritanism and clothing styles of the Cromwellian period and between the flamboyancy of clothing styles and the public morality of the time of Charles II. The Victorian period was responsible for strait-laced morals—as an outward sign, though Heaven knows what went on behind the thick curtains—female strait-lacing and men sheathed in strait hats, coats and trouserings.

Any history of English costume, architecture, or political science, or all three, demonstrates the influence of popular thought—political, religious, sociological—upon clothing. Serfs, vassals, retainers, servants, employees in their respective periods followed the ruling idea. In short, the prevailing idea governed style in clothing.

Our national ideas are changing rapidly in the urge of national education, the rise of newer political forces, scientific discovery; we are passing through a revolution of ideas and are entering a new era, I hope and believe, of greater comfort and happiness. I trust that whatever other revolutions evolve, there will be no too slow momentum in that of clothing.

*In the Schools*

It seems to be a scholastic and parental article of faith that boys shall be swathed from neck to ankle in woollen underwear. This stupid heresy, so we are told by eminent medical authorities, is responsible for much lassitude and malaise, and so interferes with metabolism as to reduce tissue changes to a minimum and the power of resistance to nothing. English boys are presented as some kind of elongated, hair-covered egg emerging from a shapeless, wriggling mass of unsightly

blanketings. Æsthetically, they have the appearance of human pen-wipers.

The idea of the shirt, the open shirt and shorts, expresses energy. It denotes activity and speed, which signifies a supple, trained limb, and it demonstrates also freedom. Historically, clothes have always had their significance. I desire freedom and activity. I desire these things to express myself, and I believe that these desires are the spirit of the age. Every year we witness increasing numbers of people of all ages going forth from their cities, clad in the garments of freedom, to find freedom, that of hill and forest, of sun and wind, of the wide expanses and long vistas. Among pioneers of the open-air movement, of this desire for freedom, of reasserting man at one with Nature, the name of Baden Powell is a land-mark. To him the world is grateful. He has lived to see the seed which he sowed arise in an ever-increasing harvest. But B. P. did not import a black shirt into England.

### *Psychology of Colour*

Students of the world, who have seen varieties of races at work and play and who understand the psychological significance of such customs, know at once that whatever the black shirt may express in Italy, to the English mind it is instinctively abhorrent. In the East, white and yellow are funereal. In England, black is a raiment for mourning. More than this, black denotes the coat designed by repressive authority for the bank clerk, the office worker. No one is going to pretend that the bank clerk likes his black coat, for when he is on holiday he throws it on one side and wears his shorts and open shirt. It appears to me, therefore, that in the black shirt idea for England there is demonstrated a complete misunderstanding of our true native psychology. We are not going to be blackshirted. We want to express energy and freedom, not the repression of the counting-house and the tight-lacedness of what in orthodox circles goes for good manners. The black

shirt chiefs are throttled to the neck within their black, sheath-like garments. They may look smart: but they express neither energy nor England.

Italy is a land of the sun. In the East when a native goes for a walk he carries a black umbrella, not to defend himself against the rain, but against the sun. In fact, on analysis—and here every scientific authority will support me—black clothing, and, of course, black skin, also, are a defence against the sun. And, therefore, in those countries wherein the heat of the sun is an obstacle to energy, the inhabitants are clothed by Nature with black skins in order to assist their energy, or they wear black or dark blue garments. For ceremony and for ease they put on white. For the Italian Fascist, Mussolini chose the black shirt. It expresses energy. In England, on the contrary, it expresses nothing of the kind. But it was Mussolini himself who said "Fascism is not for export"; and, of course, he realized the significance of the shirt.

### *Energy and Freedom*

That there is a very strong case for some kind of reform in dress in all kinds of work, as an expression of the absence of any kind of class barrier, is self-evident. But when I go tramping in my shorts and shirt, or cycle, as I do, along the country lanes and meet and join with large numbers of other people in camps and wayside inns, or seated on the grass, glorying in the English landscape, I find myself at one with them. I am not wearing a top hat, not even a black shirt. They express individual taste, one a shirt, another a pullover, one green stockings, another brown. But we are identified in the scheme of our clothing with its objective of freedom and energy, and we are at one with one another. In such an excursion no one has ever bothered to ask me whether I live in a larger or smaller house than themselves, whether I was educated at Eton or in an elementary school, or whether I am a plumber, a bank clerk, or an author.

We accept one another for what we are—human beings enjoying the glorious comradeship of freedom.

I want to see—and we are going to see—a landslide in useless conventions. We are going to see a new comradeship between human beings. And this comradeship is going to lose nothing of its individuality, and nothing of the traditional ritual and ceremony which have real importance in the culture of our race. The banker is not going much longer to dictate that young men shall be throttled from 9 a.m. on Monday until 1 p.m. on Saturday.

A distinguished headmaster in addressing the Parents' Association two years ago informed us that "the English are a lazy people". I am not surprised, for how the brain can be properly refreshed by the blood which stimulates its cells when the main arteries leading to it are strangled by tight collars and neckwear pulled almost as tight as the hangman's rope, passes my comprehension. Schoolboys are going to be released. The days of hard collars and hideous truncations, known as trousers, are numbered. Let the tailors take my tip. I veritably believe that if our legislators issued an edict against the collar there would be such a gush of cerebral inspiration that so tremendous an impetus would be given to our racial genius that most of our political problems would disappear. I say this in all seriousness, because of the psychology of clothes. When I have had the privilege of examining a banker, a person who belongs to that close caucus which seems to possess not the least imagination, I have invariably noticed that he is clothed with all the dignity which can be produced by linen and starch and a top hat and black clothes.

### *The Gift of B. P.*

B. P., with that rare imagination from which has been builded the most virile movement in Britain, set as its uniform the open shirt and shorts. The colour was khaki, a colour which for many years has been



associated with deeds of manliness by Britons in every quarter of the globe. This brown is a good working colour, too. But B. P. does not insist on it, for our sea scouts wear blue, again, like the Navy, following the sea; and there are all kinds of brown, from the russet of autumn to that of the parched plains of the Sudan. We are an Imperial people, and khaki suits us well. But the black shirt is not a good idea for Englishmen. It marks only a funeral.

## AN ELECTORAL PLAN

THERE can be no good purpose served by turning things upside down, or by calling them by other names. We have our institutions into which the highest ability and the best characteristics of our race have been built. What we must do is to continue building, making use of everything which our forefathers have fashioned for our service. Nothing happens by caprice. We have only, therefore, to build on solid foundations.

### *The Present System Absurd*

The form of our Parliamentary institutions does no longer serve their purpose. Life has become too complicated, the world too close-knit. Industry has become too highly organized, while economics and politics are inextricably intertwined. To an intelligent people the spectacle of a Parliamentary Election is merely ridiculous. Candidates, bearing different labels, push manifestos of policies through the letter-box. They stand on platforms, usually for less than half an hour, during which they expound most of what they know to persons already converted to their views or who are merely personal admirers, and to others who can never be converted by argument, and have come to pick up points for the opponent or merely to howl the candidate down.

A Parliamentary Candidate cannot possibly make himself known to more than a small percentage of those whom he will represent. If he is actually heard by 10 per cent., it is a surprising thing. But people will go to the polling stations and vote for or against him no matter what he truly represents. It happens in the life of every nation from time to time that some major public question, vitally affecting the structure of society, will appear. It is then desirable, and indeed

necessary, for the welfare of the people as a whole, to register their opinion upon the question at issue. Such questions are, for example, the issue of peace and war, national ownership of land, the composition of the Second Legislative Chamber, national holidays, the election of a National Leader. On such questions the public as a whole is sufficiently equipped with knowledge, apart from its hereditary instincts, to be able to determine the issue with wisdom; whereas the people, for lack of knowledge, are incapable of making determinations concerning such questions as the Gold Standard, the Government of India, Foreign Policy, the protection by tariffs of this industry or that, and so on.

One has only to glance through the multitudes of manifestos and election addresses of the Political Parties and their Candidates, to realize that the public is asked to do an impossible thing. At an Election, in fact, the people are told that it is a civic duty that they shall say "yea" or "nay" to more than half a dozen totally different questions, affecting vitally different principles, by marking a ballot paper with a cross in support of a person who as likely as not has no real knowledge of any of the questions involved.

Very properly, perhaps, the public may be drawn in favour of one candidate by reason of his personality, his integrity, his sincerity, and other personal qualities. But again, by recording a vote in favour of a personality, they are merely begging the question, because this is not what they are asked to do. And often as not, as we well know, mass publicity, and what is nothing else than the absurd pantomime of by-elections, will stampede the public into voting for a man for no better reason than that his face is rubicund or he is a successful company promoter and has made large donations to the local hospital, or has nicely creased trousers and cracks good jokes. Now this is merely silly. But this is what we call "Democracy"!

### *A New Electoral Plan*

The electoral principle is all right: it requires overhauling. We want the public to record its opinions intelligently, which means from knowledge and understanding, upon every major issue, and indeed upon all those issues which touch their own lives. This is true democracy, whereas the present system, concerning which Parliamentarians get so excited, is not democracy at all.

To repair the system, we require a Government which is truly National, representative of the national interest as a whole, which includes experts upon every national interest, and which is based first upon *Personality*, for this is Leadership, and it is the duty of Government to lead and not to follow the crowd.

Granted such a National Government, closely in touch with public sentiment, thought and affairs, when any major question such as I have cited crops up, the Government will obtain from the people its assent, or otherwise, to the proposal. That is, supposing the Government has decided for its own considered reasons to acquire the land for the nation, and to terminate private ownership, it will put this issue singly to the electorate, and the people will be asked to vote on this and on nothing else.

### *The Voting Machinery Outlined*

How will it be carried out? Quite simply. There is no necessity to set up polling booths with all the extravagance and waste of election machinery. The Government will make known its policy on the question. Through the Post Office, the machinery which already exists for the purpose, each member of the electorate will be furnished with a ballot paper; and he, or she, will be asked to complete this paper, which bears an electoral number, and to put it in the Pillar Box. On a given date, the papers will be collected at various centres. The votes will be counted, and public opinion will have been registered. The Government will be

free then to proceed with its legislation, on which it has obtained the consent of the people, or it will not. If the vote is wholly adverse, then the personalities representing the people must obviously resign and to a large extent be replaced.

Should it be thought that such a system presents an opportunity for fraud, it can be said that the most severe penalties would be inflicted upon anyone found guilty of interfering with the ballot. Nor is there any necessity for a secret ballot. On the contrary, it is right that the *citizen's opinions shall be freely held*. Political pressure, and interference with the ballot, would be treated in the same manner as is criminal blackmail.

But when we come to consider such questions as "the number of looms per weaver", "working hours in the coal-mining industry", "imposition of a tariff in support of the lace-making industry", "regulating the hours of shop assistants", which are in fact the questions which touch the life of the people in detail, then only that part of the electorate which has been registered through its own Trade Union (the details of which are discussed elsewhere) would record its vote. The lace industry, for example, will have its representatives in the Representative House. These representatives can advise the Government as to the technical points involved, and the Government can consider such points having regard to the economic life of the country as a whole, and will give its considered opinions thereon. The lace trade representatives, being familiar with the Government's views, and understanding the questions involved which do not directly seem to affect the lace trade, will be in a position to inform their own people of the reasons why certain policies are desirable. In other words, the Trade Unions, representing every industry and profession, will agree among themselves a mutually reconcilable policy, which will then be offered to improve the conditions and status of those engaged in the trade, so that those engaged therein may record reasoned opinions by vote in respect of the poli-



cies determined. This also can be achieved through the Post Office, without any of the mud-flinging and hypocritical nonsense associated with elections, while a clear issue on a specific question can be offered and a clear answer given.

When we come to questions affecting Foreign Policy, these are not ordinarily those which the public in a wider sense understands, because it has no experience of the issues and has no knowledge of the peoples and policies concerned. The Government will invite the people's representatives of those trades which may be affected to confer with it, and will be guided by expert advice, having regard to its relations with other foreign countries and the needs of the Empire as a whole. Such a method would produce a smooth-working Foreign Policy, especially since, as outlined elsewhere, an International Financial Policy with its standardized exchange will have been agreed.

### *The Position of Empire in the Plan*

In so far as India and the component parts of the Empire are concerned, I take this viewpoint. A system for the future Government of India has been outlined. The people of Britain require only one thing in its relations with India, namely, that these shall be conducted in peace to the mutual advantage of both peoples. I consider India, therefore, as governing itself, with the expert help of Great Britain, and under the King Emperor. The British people will not be asked, therefore, to decide whether India, of which they can and do know practically nothing, shall be governed by the system of Dyarchy, by Princely Federations, or by Parliamentary Democracy. The Viceroy of India, with his Councils in India, recognizing the sovereignty of the Indian peoples, will govern India. And the India Office as such will cease to exist. And so it will be with the component parts of the Empire. The British Government will be a focus for them, concerned with the development of the peoples of the Empire as a whole,

and with extending opportunities for trade and world associations in every department of human activity.

The Empire will, in fact, be brought closer to the Throne, and the King in more immediate touch with those for whom he is the supreme Imperial focus.

### *Utilizing and Extending British Institutions*

There is no necessity, therefore, to take to Black-shirts or affect to simulate the corporate state, or to turn over anything. We shall purge and purify public life. We shall contribute to the people real representatives. We shall give them the opportunity actually to record their considered opinions upon issues which touch their own lives whenever the occasion arises. We shall not ask them to place a National Workers' Government in power upon a host of issues which they do not properly understand, and having been possessed of that power as their representatives, go and do things for which we have no mandate from them whatsoever, such as characterize the actions of the existing, out-of-date system and those of its predecessors. We propose to reform, to bring up to date, in accordance with the requirements of a modern world, *to give to the people true representation, that of Personality as opposed to the representation by vested interest.*

Here is a common sense Electoral Plan, which will utilize all the great institutions founded by the forethought and frugality of our forefathers, and will develop them to the service of the people. Why wear a black shirt when you can record your opinion through a pillar box? Why set up a Dictatorship when you have only to convert a perverted Democracy and have the citizen right to the free exercise of your opinion upon any vital question which actually touches the life of yourself and of your family?

A National Workers' Government offers not names and phrases, but simple things which can be done by persons possessed of common sense, of honesty and of knowledge.

SECTION III  
BRITAIN'S PLACE IN THE WORLD

## GOVERNMENT TECHNIQUE CONSIDERED IN TERMS OF BRITAIN AND THE EMPIRE

Britain not an Island Entity—We Won't Go Back to Normal—Parliamentary Machinery Inefficient—Racial and Political Minorities—A Flaming Protest against Possessions.

## INDIA—THE FUTURE

The Ethics of Statesmanship—Aryan Culture—The One in Many—Honour at Stake—The Princes—Federation is Desirable—British Achievement—The Basis: Love and Confidence—Policy Outlined.

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## THE REAL LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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## TO TAKE A LEAD IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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## GOVERNMENT TECHNIQUE CONSIDERED IN TERMS OF BRITAIN AND THE EMPIRE

**I**N any consideration of the political and economic problems which face the British people, an inescapable fact contributes to them facets largely different from those of other European countries.

### *Britain Not An Island Entity*

It is incorrect to think of Great Britain as a self-contained political and economic unit, for the vast industrial population of these Islands is possessed of an historic inheritance in the Empire overseas. To be brief, the extraordinary growth of our population during the past hundred years resulted from complete Naval supremacy after the Napoleonic Wars, the simultaneous discovery of steam and the multifarious uses of Britain's rich coal endowment, the development of British sea-borne trade and the expansion of Imperial enterprise. India, our African possessions, Australasia and Canada, apart from foreign export trade, offered immense potential markets. A high standard of living was thus secured for the workers of every grade. There followed, as the Census figures declare, an enormously increased population and up to the period of War, there was little complaint against the political and economic system.

The forces let loose during the War, and by the Treaty of Versailles, with which we are familiar—intensified nationalisms, the rapid development of national industries protected by high tariff walls, dismembered political and economic units, pledges of quasi-independence to subordinate races within the Empire, lack of credits on the part of former customers both Imperial and Foreign—not only curtailed export



trade, but almost immediately threw some two million men out of employment. Despite 1,000,000 War casualties, also, an arrested migratory exodus to the Empire, together with the natural increase in population which war always produces, resulted in increasing the population during the war period by almost 3,000,000. Except as a geographical expression, Great Britain has long ceased to be an island. Both politically and economically, Britain is an Empire—and *we cannot yet subsist without it.*

### *We Won't Go Back To Normal*

Mr. Asquith, after the War, in the House of Commons proclaimed, "Let us now get back to normal". This was the one thing impossible. Neither the economic conditions, nor the temper of the people, especially those who had been engaged in War Service, were prepared for any such thing. Especially among the latter, to whom a millennium had been promised, but who only witnessed the immense profiteering of those who had not shared the hardships of the Campaign, and who with growing disillusion and disappointment hunted the roads for work, there commenced an agitation of which the Socialist intelligentsia were quick to take advantage. The historic Conservative and Liberal Parties returned to their game of make-believe on behalf of the vested interests supporting them. The Socialist intelligentsia, filching the sentiment of comradeship engendered during the War, commenced a campaign of "sob-stuff", being careful not to declare whether its aim was that of State or Guild Socialism, Syndicalism, or Communism, the theories of any one of which implied a vitally different social and economic State construction. On the basis of this sentiment, together with a programme of unparalleled mass bribery, which every economist recognized as impossible of fulfilment, the Labour Party won its way to office. But not to power. The British people of all classes, at every election, made it plain that they would resist any

proposals which implied the dismemberment of the British Empire and affiliation with the Communist International.

### *Parliamentary Machinery Inefficient*

At the same time, a growing body of opinion, also represented throughout by all classes, came to the conclusion that Parliamentary machinery was inefficient for its work and that some new form of Government control and organization was the immediate need. Such expressions came from Lord Hewart, the Lord Chief Justice, who, in a published work, made a bitter complaint against the newly-assumed powers of the bureaucratic Civic Service over-riding the Legislature. There were to be found in this revolt, also, various Members of Parliament. There appeared evidence in the establishment of the short-lived New Party, in Fascist declarations by public men, and similar statements of policy from the Socialist Party itself.

Such latter declarations came as a bombshell to the Liberal-Socialist-Communist Press and to the manipulators of the Trade Union Congress, which, having maintained a fierce propaganda against both Hitler and Mussolini, now hastened to disavow the anti-democratic expressions of their own leaders. At the same time, a host of political organizations, whose appearance was both National and Radical, sprang into being all over the country.

### *Racial and Political Minorities*

Among such Movements has been a National Workers' Movement. The feelings towards this commenced in 1923, when I proclaimed both a National, Radical and Workers' Programme as a Candidate at the General Election. In my work, *Footslogger*, 1931, I elaborated the need for the Movement, fixing much responsibility for social evil upon the power of International Finance. On my return from India, with peculiar opportunities to observe the aspirations of

Young India and the impulse towards Nationalism, I founded the National Workers' Movement. Its Purpose and Policy, in the social and economic field at home is National Regeneration and the crushing of those alien forces which have divided the British people by class warfare. The movement is an intangible.

No Policy for the British people can be properly enunciated while ignoring both our trade affiliations with, and moral responsibilities towards, the peoples of the British Empire. The British Empire consists of both racial and political minorities. Its each component part presents a different problem, for which there can be no common solution, other than the recognition of the sovereign rights of race. I am convinced that the best results can be obtained from a Colonial Empire only by releasing to the nationalisms within it the utmost freedom in national cultural expression which we claim as the basis of our own National life.

The Empire projection is the pursuit of a common policy of Governmental organization, with its direction and impetus proceeding from a common focus of Government in London, centred in the Throne.

This is a statement, new in the conception of Government of Empire, but I believe it to provide a solution of most of its problems. Already the National Workers' Movement has won influential adherence both from India and Ceylon, and in South Africa and Australia.

Almost simultaneously with the launching of the National Workers' Movement, there have appeared propaganda organs, weekly newspapers, pamphlets; societies, cunningly camouflaged, which, recognizing the growth of a National Socialist Movement in this country, are attempting to capture the resurgence and divert it to the control of Bolshevism and to alien racial and cultural ambitions. Immense sums of money must already have been spent both on this propaganda and on books, fees to prominent publicists, lawyers, and anyone else who prefers a fat bank balance to the splendour of his own racial inheritance and

of the continued greatness of the traditions of his Country.

*A Flaming Protest Against Possessions*

This Movement will go forward by its own impetus. It is a flaming protest against a world corroded with objects and possessions; it is deep-rooted in the soul of the people. It is both a natural and a national expression of emotional feeling for a common comradeship and a common destiny. It is also founded on the conviction that Great Britain has a crucial part to play in world affairs; and that we can function in the East with such insight as to induce its peoples to accept the Western technique of human and scientific organization. But first Great Britain must realize its own internal strength by undertaking its own social regeneration, and learn to gain from the East the intrinsic values of pure subjective thought, which will crown Britain's material achievement. Nor will any action in Great Britain prove so vital as one which will invest the mystic authority now falsely ascribed to gold in human and communal right. To this end we must go forward.

## INDIA—THE FUTURE

### *The Ethics of Statesmanship*

THE shifting panorama of the centuries reveals three separate and underlying forces which shape and direct the higher civilization. Two of these have a spiritual character, and one appears to be economic, although clearer vision will show that they all spring from a common source. These three sources are the religious philosophy, the state and science, or better, scholarship.

Similar causes produce similar effects both in Europe and in India. Perhaps in these days we are witnesses of that lack of intellectual integrity, that political opportunism, that debasement of ethical ideals before Mammon which will find its Nemesis in the Government suicide of which Voltaire spoke. All modern cults and notions which are opposed to the ancient philosophies of the Aryan rule must be regarded as the destroyers of human hope and liberty. Such concepts as Bolshevism and the sublimation of National culture to an International order with a materialistic ideology will inevitably wreck all that is of value in modern civilization, and will throw institutional life back to the Dark Ages.

### *Aryan Culture*

Aryan civilization remains the one supreme triumph of all human learning and endeavour. It has inspired the arts and crafts; it has contributed the richest philosophies. It has been the charter of all good human government. It is the unbreakable link between the East and the West. Arya is a philosophy.

Until British Statesmen divest themselves of the fatal habit of judging things by Western standards alone they will never see them in their right perspective. It



has been frequently asserted that, although India is a geographical entity excluded from the rest of the world by the seas which compass her shores and by the vast wall of mountains which trace themselves along her northern and western frontier, it was Britain which created of India a political entity. No greater fallacy can exist.

### *The One In Many*

Just as one great force regulates the rainfall, so there has been transmuted from Nature herself throughout the thousands of years of Indian history a concept of social organization which bound, and yet binds, the people of India as one human projection.

There can be no understanding of India which separates religion from politics. There has been a habit, also, to regard Hinduism, Mohammedanism and Buddhism as three entirely different states of thought representing irreconcilable religious ideas. But there can be no greater error than to imagine that the Communal differences of the present age, irritated by questions of philosophical dispute, sectarian dogma, and the capacity of political expediency for playing-off one section against another, are irremovable. At root there are no differences: India is the great exemplar of the doctrine of the One in Many.

Disloyalty to the Aryan principles of conduct and to Aryan national ideals, which is not an uncommon trait in the character of both British and Indian politicians and publicists, renders a great disservice to the world. No constitution for India can hope for success which fails to recognize this unassailable Truth. To accentuate differences, possessed of no inherent values or reason, must be only to increase the difficulty of solution and to make impracticable the welding of divergent ideas to the service of the whole. To depart from the one Truth which alone gives unity will be to destroy all that more than six thousand years of human progress has contributed. This is a matter of

education, almost of education alone. And if education cannot be identified with mere instruction, what is it? It must mean a gradual adjustment to the spiritual possessions of the race, with a view to realizing one's own potentialities and to assisting in carrying forward that complex of ideas, acts and institutions which we call civilization. Arya means honourable.

No single question is likely to occupy so much of the political stage in the near future as will the future Constitution of India. Our purpose is to re-win the confidence of Indians. I recognize the sovereign rights of race. We are satisfied that it is in the interests of the communities of India to remain within the structure of the Empire: we are equally assured that it is the desire of their hearts so to remain. The revolt of India is against the hideous materialism of the West, a materialism wholly alien to their philosophy . . . and to that of the British race. The revolt equally is against the Omnipotence of the money-power which enslaves them. See the Indian Press which is not always run by fools or knaves. We are united with the Indian peoples in this grief which is our own.

The Indian policy of a true National Government subscribes to what is traditional of India, and it contributes to the Paramount Power centred in the Throne an exaltation which in the long history of India and of the British association with the sub-Continent we have never hitherto achieved. The general principle of the Constitution, based on these principles, have been closely examined and proclaimed in my book *Arya*. And these views have been endorsed by such noted governmental authorities and Orientalists as Lord Lloyd, Major-General J. F. C. Fuller and Mr. E. B. Havell. The further trade of this country with India, and the livelihood of the tens of thousands of operatives in Great Britain, especially in Lancashire, depends upon the immediate solution of this question on terms which are honourable to the races of India, on terms which recognize the place of the Princes in

that Constitution, and which will re-win for Great Britain and for its public servants that confidence and respect to which the achievement of Great Britain has a just title, and through which the labours of its servants shall have their reward.

Without mutual confidence there will be no trade.

The "White Paper", ignoring what is traditional in India, seeks to impose a system of Western Parliamentary democracy wholly alien to Indian instincts and cultural determination. The *Panchayat* system which has survived every invasion and upheaval, and to which men like Elphinstone paid eloquent tribute, is to be superseded by a novelty to which every community in India is opposed. A close examination of the Indian Press and of the speeches by Indians of all Communities during the past eighteen months, makes it clear that as the result there has been produced a situation, charged with disappointment and anger, not less dangerous due to the greed of vested interest, and the selfishness of personal ambition. The Communal Award is morally wrong, giving legal sanction to differences which at root do not exist.

The Government of India, continually perplexed by the vacillations of Whitehall, driven from this policy to that by the varying sentimentalists and political pundits who, posing as Statesmen, merely distract and irritate the Government and its officials, has almost ceased to exercise the functions of true Government. It stagnates awaiting the instructions of Whitehall, to most of whose inmates India remains little more than a geographical expression, or peoples to be governed by fixed formulæ. The White Paper is based on wrong.

It is true, of course, that in a Parliamentary Democracy, it may be unreasonable to expect Members of Parliament to take a live interest in Indian affairs. Their constituents, to whom they are responsible, have no concern with the 350 million people of this sub-

Continent and so long as Members promise pensions for life to all and sundry it is unlikely that they will lose their seats, or that any ill-temper will arise among constituents possessed of a growing anxiety concerning the management of the major part of the British Empire. The White Paper possesses no moral validity.

Lest it be overlooked, however, let it be remembered that the major part of the British Imperial trade is carried on with the Indian peoples and that an atmosphere of confidence is conducive to good business. When the rest of the world is discarding the forms of Parliamentary Democracy because they have outworn their usefulness, and in some cases have betrayed and debased National causes, it appears to be the veriest nonsense to propose to apply such a system to people, whose age-long culture and institutions are diametrically opposed to the notion. Certain vague promises have been made by preceding Governments and Viceroy. But no jurist of repute has yet been able to define precisely what was implied, nor does it seem to matter. The White Paper is a moral crime.

### *Honour at Stake*

British honour is not vested in disputed formulæ. The only point worthy of consideration is whether we are capable of producing a constitution for India which will satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Indian peoples, as a whole, producing new happiness, and which will at the same time secure to ourselves the confidence necessary to the development of our own trade. The problem of India must, therefore, be examined in the light of these conditions, and no other factors should be permitted to obscure the issue. The Indian problem is no easy one, because of the diversity of race, language, religion and custom. No more than an average of ten per cent of the total population are literate, and they are agriculturists, dwelling for the most part in villages, remote from city life and the influences of Western civilization.



India must be examined, therefore, in the large. If detail be needed, then no more comprehensive study of this vast sub-Continent has been made than that of the Simon Report. But in the large, India presents, firstly, what is known as British India, being territories occupied by various races and religions, governed by the Indian Civil Service, men, who, unlike our own Civil Servants, are possessed of both administrative and political powers. All power is finally vested in the Viceroy and his Council. Within British India, Indians themselves, upon an electoral plan, have set up and maintain a system of Local Government not dissimilar in form and powers to that of this country, but on a greatly magnified scale. The Provincial Legislative Councils, presided over by each Governor, possess certain political powers which could up to date be over-ruled by the Governor in Council. Ordinarily, therefore, such local Government has been the Governor in Council with the Senior Civil Servants, nominated as Ministers, with an opposition composed exclusively of Indian members, who seldom support the Government, unless a question of religious or caste differences arises, providing Government with an opportunity to play off one faction against the other. As a form of Government, this may sound extraordinarily contrary, and there have been happenings in the conduct of the Legislative Assemblies which would have been the envy of Gilbert and Sullivan. It is quite certain, however, that the people of India have benefited very little, if at all, from the introduction of this Democratic form, expressive in fact of the will of very few, while Government itself has been conducted in an atmosphere of endless discord.

### *The Princes*

On the other side of the picture we are confronted with a series of Native States, enjoying almost absolute, semi and quasi-autonomy and independence, governed by hereditary Indian Princes with Ministers



selected by themselves. The size of these States is as various as in the degree of competence of their rulers. And competence is not the only consideration. There are States whose theories of Government belong to medieval barbarism, and whose ideas of justice make the Queen in *Alice in Wonderland* appear as a beneficent ruler. Despite enormous revenues and the fabulous wealth of many of the Princes, some at least of the States are on the verge of bankruptcy, while the people take no part whatever in government, and to them Democratic forms are wholly unknown.

This is not to suggest, however, that among the Princes there are not to be found those who have a very real sense of their responsibility and have not introduced such reforms as State medical services, hospitals, transport and education, which are proving of real value to their subjects. The Indian States, are, however, autocracies.

It is upon this terrifying combination of Western Democratic form laid upon Caste and Kismet and of Medieval Autocracy that Great Britain proposes to confer the very doubtful benefits of full Parliamentary Government and responsibility, conceded to a very small and most clamorous section of the Indian peoples. A phrase has been coined to contribute to this notion some semblance of reality, and it is to be called, therefore, Federal Government. It is, of course, possible, and from a political and economic standpoint it may be wise, to bring about Federation between States possessed of common political forms, and common economic and political objectives. But to confer the principles of federation upon States which have no common political form without some all-controlling force at the centre which can and will produce an even rate of progress throughout, appears to be the height of folly.

### *Federation is Desirable*

There appears to be only one possible way by which

true federation can be reached for the States of India. The question may first be asked whether such federation is in itself a desirable end. I am sure it is. There follows then consideration as to the measures which can make this practicable. We must consider first the fact that the agitation for separation proceeds from Congress, and that on the whole the Princes have remained loyal to the Throne. No matter that their reason for doing so may perhaps be vested largely in notions of self-preservation. The Government of India has been able to play off the Princes against the more unruly elements in the pay and under the spell of Congress, but that is not a policy which can last.

### *British Achievement*

We are dealing with a novel situation. It demands heroic measures if there is to be any solution without a great diminution of British prestige, immense dislocation of trade, and in reality the total loss of our Indian Empire. We may perhaps halt for a moment and consider what that loss will mean for the Indian peoples themselves. All Indian history demonstrates most clearly that they would fall a prey to the invader. There is a number of Great Powers in Europe and farther East who would not be slow to advantage themselves of the opportunity to play the part of pirates. There would be no gain to the Indian peoples from such a result. They would probably lose heavily. However much it may be the custom to decry our own institutions, it is nevertheless the fact that we have contributed to India, no matter what may be the motives which dictated the policy, medical services, systems of transport, posts and telegraphs, education, the stamping out of plague and famine, safety from dacoities and highway robbery, peace against the invader, and all these in a measure which they had not previously enjoyed. But these were material triumphs. We have no reason to be ashamed of what has been accomplished. On the contrary, there is no nation in the

history of the world which can show, as invaders, such immense reforms on behalf of the people whom they set out to exploit, that is assuming that those who would destroy the Empire are correct in suggesting that exploitation has been the one objective.

The position is quite clear. Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India said (Hansard, March 27th): "The pledges of the past leave full liberty to Parliament in the choice of the time and manner of constitutional advance." And Lord Hailsham, speaking in the House of Commons on December 10th, 1931, said: "You reserve to yourselves full liberty if, when the solution is brought before you, you think it does not meet the conditions laid down to reject it."

Nothing could be clearer. We are as free to-day as upon any other in our connection with India to determine what form of government we shall enact for the Indian peoples, and in how far and in what manner we shall permit the Indian peoples to play a part in it. The White Paper is a moral crime from which honourable and Christian men must dissent.

### *The Basis—Love and Confidence*

In our wisdom, and from our knowledge of the Indian peoples, of their customs, traditions and age-long philosophic concept, we will do nothing so foolish as to impose our form of Parliamentary Democracy. A Government by counting heads in India will prove the height of lunacy, and most assuredly will produce anarchy. On the other side of the picture, to leave the Princes in their varied autocracies, without the example of authority, and without pressure where necessary to introduce the reforms which India needs, will prove that we have lost the willing will and have abdicated from leadership. It would, also, produce stagnation, and in the end also anarchy. India needs our love and confidence also. Do not let us withhold them. The proposal which is outlined hereunder may not be popular. No doubt it will invoke opposition

both from the noisiest politicians who represent no one but themselves and the vested interests which finance them, and from the more recalcitrant among the Princes. But Hindu Princes will respond to the message of the Bhavagad Gita: the Moslem Princes to the Word of the Quran.

### *Policy Outlined*

Hereunder in brief is sketched a proposal.

1. A Permanent Council for India, in London, consisting of men appointed, because of their knowledge of India and their understanding of its real problems. The Council will consist of a number of Indian Princes, nominated by the Chamber of Princes in India, of men nominated by the Chambers of Commerce, and of leaders representing Moslem and Hindu interests, as well as of representatives of great races like the Mahrattas and the Sikhs, and Minorities. The Council will be known as the King-Emperor's Council. The only focus for Empire is in the Throne. No man will stand between the King and the people representing the Indian Empire. The Cabinet will be fully represented on the King-Emperor's Council, and will be fully responsible for interpreting its decisions.

2. The Viceroy, who will be a member of the Cabinet, will have full plenary powers, exercised under the authority of the King-Emperor's Council, and will interpret the will of the Council in terms of such statutes as may be necessary to their fulfilment.

3. Under the Viceroy, All-India will be divided into a number of Principalities, both in British India and as existing throughout the Indian States. Each Principality will be provided with a Constitution, all identical in pattern; and the Police and Auxiliary Military Services will be contained within the Principality.

4. Governors, whose duties will be advisory, directly responsible to the Viceroy, will occupy office in the Presidencies and Provinces. The Viceroy's Council will consist of the Governors, who will report

in Council as to the systematic development of the Constitution throughout the Principalities in each Province.

5. Princes who are obstructive in carrying out the Governmental plan should be removed. I have faith that the general body of the Princes will respond to the call of duty, and to their high destiny.

6. The first need of India is for agricultural and economic development. Taxation throughout India will be according to one plan, and each Prince will be accorded a Civil List, based upon an invariable percentage of the revenue. It will thus be the primary duty of each Prince to develop his Principality in the interests of those for whom he is responsible.

7. Finance, as a function of industry, will be relegated to its rightful position, and will be a subordinate department of the Viceroy's Council.

8. Usury, a major curse of India, will be forbidden, and usurers submitted to the most severe penalty. No measure can be calculated more swiftly to win the confidence of all India—its vast peasant population—in the new form of Government.

9. Indian Civil Servants will be an executive body with full political and administrative powers, exercised within the Principality.

10. The form of government within the Principality, presided over by the Prince, whether hereditary or elected, will be similar in form to that of the Indian Council in London.

11. The Army in India will be commanded by the Viceroy, with his Commander-in-Chief and Staff. It will be utilized for the protection of the Frontier and in fulfilment of the Government plan.

12. The principle of National work will be introduced; and for this purpose the Hierarchical system will be utilized to the fullest extent, so that within each Caste, the crafts assigned to them will be encouraged and developed for the economic wealth of India as a whole.



13. There will be no Press licence in India. No newspaper hostile to Government will exist, but instructive criticism will always be permissible. The duty of newspapers published throughout India will be to inform the people of the Government's will and of the purpose of Government. Its further duty will be to foster and develop the traditional cultures of the Indian peoples; and to give a lead to industrial enterprise.

14. Local Government, municipalities and village councils, will be formed on precisely the same plan as the major councils. Each will be granted such plenary powers as are conceded by the Viceroy's Council. This is, of course, the *Panchayat* system.

15. The objective of Education, which hitherto has been the training for subordination, will be "training for leadership". The schools and colleges will be non-communal and without class distinction. National physical training will be encouraged. Technical education will be supported.

16. Every post within Government will be open to Indians. They will be chosen for character, for service, for loyalty to the Government plan, for understanding of world problems in relation to the needs of India and its peoples.

17. Religious freedom will receive all tolerance. But any attempt on the part of sacerdotalism to proselytize, or to create communal feeling on the basis of religious difference will be suppressed.

18. The objective is "India as a Nation", Great Britain contributing to it experience and technique, borrowing from it that part of Indian culture which will prove of great value to the mother country and to the component parts of the Empire.

19. Indians everywhere will be recognized as a sovereign people and as a sovereign race. They will be protected against subversive propaganda, against tyrannical autocracy, and against usury. The people will be encouraged from their own genius, energy and

natural resources to develop their country and their own cultural happiness in the interests of their own families, their own races, of all India and of the British Empire. For this purpose the development of Indian resources will be encouraged and provision made for them. The Government of Principalities which fails to give effect to the Government Plan will immediately be replaced by one of Government choosing and ordinance.

20. Government pledges itself to the systematic development of Indian Resources for the benefit of the Indian peoples and in the national interest; and to the unfolding of Indian culture.

The point is that the only importance in any governmental system is that it shall ensure the happiness and cultural development of the peoples for which it is devised. The scheme here offered is based upon the philosophies of India, and subscribes to traditions and to an outlook on life which have been the cultural momentum and governmental structure of India for thousands of years. The project, therefore, is to lift government from the plane of gross materialism to a higher plane, at the same time carrying with it a regenerated philosophic India. This is within the competence of Great Britain in equal association with All-India; and it is the plain duty of Britain to pursue this path.

## CO-OPERATION BETWEEN WORLD PEOPLES

### *The Imperial and Foreign Policy of a True National Government*

God gave to each race of men its individual genius. That we recognize. It is our purpose, both in Imperial and in Foreign affairs, to apply the principles embodied in this truth. We assert the sovereign rights of race. Enduring peace and commercial co-operation can only be secured upon the basis of world recognition of this fundamental law. Suppression of race, as all history teaches, has brought disaster to the world and to ordered civilization. The future of the British Race depends on its unfettered freedom. The destiny of the British people is vested in the lead which it will give to the world in the application of this principle. The Empire is centred in the Throne.

### *International Financiers conspired the World War*

Co-operation between the peoples of the world can neither be achieved nor secured so long as a small group of International financiers control the destinies of the world, and by specious propaganda subordinate racial genius, both cultural and industrial, to the juggling of International money exchanges. It is from mutual appreciation, as well as from an understanding of the economic needs and cultural aspirations of every race, that both peace and mutual prosperity alone can proceed. International Financiers conspired and produced the World War. The same money-masters are responsible for unemployment and poverty in every land. In every part of the British Empire, notably in Great Britain, Australia and India, these International conspirators have proved to be human wreckers, sucking the life blood from the

people, degrading their national institutions, and subordinating industry—and national wealth, which is its product—to their own international and sinister interests. Our faith is in the British people. Our battle is joined with International Finance. Our policy in Imperial and Foreign affairs is of co-operation, on the basis of human initiative and racial expression, with honest men, untainted by a connection with international conspirators, with men who are intent upon forwarding the traditional culture of their own race, and who are seeking to develop their commercial prosperity in alliance with those who will exchange labour for labour, genius for genius, culture for culture, by the proper use of the Monetary system.

### *The Clutches of Debt*

A true British Foreign Policy will be conducted in accordance with these principles, wholly freed from the machinations of International Finance, freed also from privy conspiracy and secret negotiations. This will prove of inestimable advantage to the British Empire and will produce enduring peace. Policies which attempt to isolate peoples, by depreciating the exchange against them or by hoarding the old World's Standards of Exchange, namely, gold, or silver, were wholly provocative of war and have been occasioned in the interests of an International conspiracy against the people. International Finance, despite endless propaganda and polite phrases intended for ignorant people, cares nothing for the National Worker. Its objective is to enslave men, while using the catch phrases of liberty. Slavery is already partly achieved; the nations of the world are caught fast in the clutches of gigantic and inextinguishable debts; and are being slowly compelled to accept the dictum of Omnipotent Money-Masters, while, lest men should begin to think upon their own heritage and the great traditions of their own race, propaganda hurries them along every avenue of frivolous debauch, which the

propaganda machinery of alien-minded people can contrive.

### *Bribery and Corruption*

A true Imperial and Foreign Policy is devised to accommodate the needs of the British National Worker. It is devised further to contribute in world affairs what is traditional of our race, namely, "fair play". It will pursue an Imperial task, devoted to raising the traditional culture, promoting the prosperity, and increasing the material wealth, of the peoples within the British Empire, recognizing that their own development and prosperity, as a simple economic truth, implies the realization of our own. That is the policy to which the heart of all men of goodwill throughout the British Empire truly aspires—and I emphasize this fact in regard to India. Recent revelations of the procedure of High Finance have shown hideous examples of the bribery, corruption, and financial accommodation of men, acclaimed as great Statesmen, by International Financiers.

### *National Leaders*

Within the system in which a National Policy works, the Leaders will have their needs administered by a Public Trust, permanently instituted, the test of Leadership being service to the State and that providing its essential and unmatched reward. The Leaders of the modern State should have no time for private affairs! The men of a true National Government will be beyond corruption. They will be unable to conspire against the people in the interests of International Finance and to enrich themselves at the expense of those whom they lead by advantaging themselves of the privileged position of leadership.

Such a clause may appear objectionable. It is better to err on the side of safety. For centuries leaders have shown themselves incapable of restraint. The so-called aristocracy succumbed, the puppets of democracy have



been purchased and their policies influenced. We choose at the outset to place our leaders beyond corruption and beyond personal anxiety, that they shall fulfil a National policy for the Nation.

The sole concern of National Leaders is that of National prosperity, progress and peace: and the protection and development of peoples of the Empire, recognizing their sovereignty, centred in the Throne, in the fullest co-operation with the British people.

## THE REAL LEAGUE OF NATIONS

### *Geneva Discredited*

THE concept of a League of Nations remains, while its present organization and machinery is very much discredited. At Geneva, elderly Statesmen, men of a past political order and representative of the political passing-show of unreality, have wrangled over the bones of the slain and cast lots for the belongings of the living. Their minds have been turned down to the Hell from which the Great War was created, a war equally conspired by each state, with the god of International Finance looming in the background. The League was nothing but the perpetuation of war-force vested in a Treaty, founded upon fraud and maintained by force. The League of Nations has become a financiers' "stunt" with which to enslave the Nations to the International Banks.

Nationalism, not that of the jingo and the flag-wagger, but one in which traditions and ideals are ennobled, the arts and crafts are fostered and culture is nurtured, is the hope of mankind. The highest expression of Nationalism must also be peace-loving, self-disciplined, honourable, friendly, and this is as we find it among the highest types of our own neighbours—though they always have a hand of friendship for the less fortunate and seem to radiate goodwill and service to the community, yet with evil they are ruthless. From the highest expression of Nationalism, and from this alone, will arise a new League of Nations, one which, consisting of the world's greatest states, will frankly discuss problems as they arise, in common council. We shall supplant military force and financial and economic pressure as weapons and will devise plans in accordance with the spirit of "give and take"

and of true national expression. The present League has been oppressed by "round the corner" conspiracies and foremost by financial considerations rather than those affecting the lives and welfare of human beings. International Finance is finding its Nemesis and will be subordinated as the mere function of industry which it is.

### *Germany, Italy and Japan*

It was inevitable that independent Nations like Germany, Italy and Japan should leave the present League. I see no reason why, for example, Japan should not be permitted to extend the boundaries of Manchuko to replace the endless cruelties perpetrated by the War Lords. Civilization and humanity can only gain as the result. There is every reason why Germany should be permitted by peaceful measures to extend her political boundaries to embrace all the Germanic peoples, where in Austria, for example, only a political frontier separates a bankrupt German Austria from economic and cultural survival. France possesses ample room for her colonizing genius in Northern Africa, and may well further expand. And so the world might be reshaped through the common sense of sovereign nations working out their destiny in harmony. Not, however, in the spirit of aggressive and usurious Imperialism, but in leadership of more primitive peoples. We can accommodate Italy in Africa.

To speak of World Disarmament is not to understand a world of reality.

### *War Can be Limited and then Eliminated*

As a first step, *war can be limited*: that is an important step. Since it is agreed that no nation on earth desires strife, war will be limited by the establishment of certain broad principles governing National Expansion in keeping with geographical and ethnographical common sense, and by the indication of *National Zones*

*of Trade.* Upon the basis of such an understanding wherein the cultural and economic needs of every nation are both realized and appreciated there would be very real possibility for the development of peaceful world understanding. We cannot overlook the fact that there are small nations, for example in South America and the East wherein a high standard of culture either has never existed or has yet to be awakened. An inclusive League of strong nations will see to it that the small and less developed states do not disturb the peace of the world, and not one of them shall be guilty of forging private alliances in the advancement of its own interests.

### *A Real Brotherhood of Man*

Owing to Britain's geographical position and far-flung influence throughout the world, our responsibility is specially great. We live under the shadow of a great tradition. For centuries it has been slowly forming. Lives without number have been built into it. The years have crowned it with power and with beauty. It marks the rise and dominance of the human spirit. Due perhaps mostly to our long association with the East, *it is we pre-eminently who can incorporate into Western civilization, so remarkable in its material achievement, the pure subjective thought and philosophies of the East whose ideology is the real brotherhood of man.* It is for such a Policy in International Affairs, I will add, in human affairs, that the British Policy should stand. And this would be a real League of Nations in place of a conspiracy of bankers and politicians.

## TO TAKE A LEAD IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### *Freedom Safe on a Foundation of Strength*

THE Foreign Policy of a true National Government is determined by the teachings of history, from the facts of geography and ethnography. It does not permit its interpretations to be governed, necessarily, by imposed Political Frontiers, by Dynastic considerations, and even less by the demands of International Finance. It follows, therefore, that the British Government must be possessed of the Power necessary for defence and the Power to impose its will—a National Workers' Movement recognizes that freedom is safe on a foundation of strength. Those who threaten this freedom must be made aware that there exists a deterrent force capable of imposing its will that freedom shall be secured. Nor does this Policy imply isolation. But it does insist upon a withdrawal from foreign entanglements and commitments, so that freedom of action can be guaranteed to the British Nation.

### *The Power of Decision Shall be British*

The Alliances and Agreements entered into by successive governments, especially since the War, have wrested this power of decision from the British people and have committed it to an International Tribunal whose ideals and objectives may at any moment and frequently do prove wholly inimical to our own. A united National Government will establish the most friendly relations with all nations whose purpose and objectives identify with our own. International trade is a matter of mutual confidence more than anything else. We do not believe, therefore, that it is of any value whatever to enter into Trade Agreements with other nations whose Diplomacy and International



Action is opposed to our own and governed by International Finance in the political and economic sphere; though the lever which trade offers in inducing foreign nations to accept the ideals for which we stand must not be ignored.

### *To Review Existing Treaties*

A British National Government does not believe that peace ultimately can be secured through treaties imposed by fraud and upheld by force. We believe that they can only be the causes of new wars. In Foreign Affairs, therefore, it is our Purpose to review all existing Treaties in which we are participants, and where necessary to remove from them causes of war, compensating in so far as is practicable those States which may suffer territorial and other loss. But here it must be remembered that the States which in any such revision might appear to suffer will be exclusively those which originated and gained their liberty from the acts of the belligerents during the Great War, to which they themselves in part at any rate did not contribute and have incurred no sacrifice thereafter. We have no intention of perpetuating the War Alliance, or of playing any part in forming military and economic walls around a virile Germany. We believe that any attempt to suppress the German Nation in this manner must inevitably lead to conflict and to fresh alliances against ourselves with their ensuing dangers.

As to France, I do not forget the comradeship of the trenches. Following the War, I was Honorary Treasurer of the Société Inter-Alliée de l'Alliance Française. My friendships with France endure from schooldays and have been enriched. I spend summer leisure hours painting in France. On such foundations Anglo-French friendship will endure.

I have noted both with grief and with apprehension the unfriendliness of the French Government towards ourselves in such matters as continued opposition to

the peaceful measures which we desire; by raising high tariffs against the importation of British goods; by impositions on British shipping; and by raising immense armed forces rather than disarming. We have noted, further, that French Policies are governed by the requirements of International finance, and that these policies are entangled with the Governments and policies of Czechoslovakia, Austria, Rumania, and Bolshevik Russia, causing alarm and economic distress. It is the first duty of Great Britain to rebuild its own economy, and for British statesmen to give their undivided attention to the employment, housing and social betterment of the British people. We do not believe that this can be accomplished by entering into arrangements with international banks and financiers, but rather by the establishment of unity in the industrial field at home, by protecting the standard of British labour against that of foreign competition and by redeeming land for the plough. We believe, further, that rather than Governmental loans being appropriated for foreign nations, and as subsidies, direct and indirect, for foreign trade, the energies and resources of Great Britain should be utilized throughout the British Dominions, the Indian Empire and the Crown Colonies and possessions.

### *The Position of Germany and Japan*

It is our purpose, further, in Foreign Affairs to establish most friendly relations with those nations who are concerning themselves with the peaceful development of their own culture, industries and lands, unaffected by secret conspiracies and by the pressing demands of International Finance, leaving us in peace to develop our own industries and Empire without interference by any other nation. So long as Germany continues to show no bellicose desires, and proceeds to expand by negotiation, or by the political absorption of Germanic peoples, irrespective of existing political frontiers, we do not see that such

arrangements entered into peacefully are any cause for war, but rather the reverse; and they should receive our sympathy, while a boycotted Germany is entitled to protection. Japan, whose renaissance has been largely due to British tutelage, is entitled to expand beyond its own shores, just as we ourselves, an Island people, have done in early history. If Japan is able to bring order out of chaos in Manchuko, to suppress the perpetual campaigns of the Chinese War Lords, often in the pay of Bolshevik Russia, and to develop a part of the vast geographical expression known as China, in the interests of the peoples themselves and of world trade, we see no reason for objection. British hostility to Japanese aspirations does not assist the negotiations in respect of India and other parts of the Empire, where in our own markets Japan is under-selling British goods to the detriment of our own people.

### *Russia Arming*

Britain must note with a grave apprehension the closer alliance of France with Russia under its Bolshevism. France (le Comité des Forges, the great industrial group controlling France) had striven to inflame Poland against Germany, who has now concluded a non-aggressive pact with her Eastern neighbour. Therefore, agitated France turns to Russia. The British General Staff is well aware of the fact that the Soviet possesses an immense air fleet, a vast army and complete modern equipment and huge munition factories. Such an alliance constitutes a grave danger to the British Empire. If France persists in this course, the real safety for world peace would be a defensive alliance between Great Britain, Germany and the Baltic States, Italy and Japan. This would ensure the peace of the world. We would undertake to preserve the frontiers of France against aggression. Meanwhile, Britain must stand on one side, fixed in right and might. No alliance with criminals.

*The Wicked Folly of the National Government*

To those who understand international affairs and who have witnessed the world at work and play, the folly which has characterized British policies towards both Germany and Japan during the past few years appears as alarming as it is despicable. British Foreign Policy has served only to play into the hands of Russian Bolshevism, to give satisfaction among those financiers who command governmental affairs in Moscow, New York and Paris, while British trade itself has been injured, and further forces of disruption have been unloosed throughout the Indian Empire.

*The League—A Financial Conspiracy*

Though it will be generally agreed that the League of Nations, as the British nation originally conceived it, was a noble inspiration, it can be seen that its ideals have been debased and the hopes which it kindled in the hearts of men have been thwarted. The League of Nations has, in fact, become nothing else than a further instrument to the service of international conspiracy against the liberty of mankind. Rather than being an open Court before which honest men may lay their difficulties and Nations display their griefs and grievances, the League of Nations, with its ridiculous diplomatic trappings, has become the centre of conspiracy. Financiers haunt Geneva, whispering in the ears of Statesmen. Secretaries of State hold privy parties. A swarm of journalists in the pay of the same financiers who both plot and own and control the great organs of public opinion, manufacture news and convert the gossip of the hour into staggering headlines producing all the semblance of truth. Open diplomacy has given way to lobbying; and the words of men are twisted to suit the financial needs of the moment. The rumours of Geneva cause the Exchanges to fluctuate violently, while those in the know, with mobile assets and no frontiers of their own, steal their profits from the miseries and uncertainties of the Nations. As an

instrument of peace, the League of Nations has ceased to exist. It has become the laughing-stock of both Italy and Germany, while Japan resigned two years ago. Bolshevik Russia entered after privy conspiracy and secret diplomatic negotiations, as a cynical commentary upon the objects of the League. America has never belonged to the League, though no doubt the time is financially ripe for its entry; and we find the ridiculous spectacle of a League of Nations in which three of the strongest and most virile nations in the world are practically unrepresented, while the British Empire is daily thwarted by the joint conspiracies of the lesser nations of Europe, and can be deeply insulted by the representatives of any one of the petty political units of South America or the East. Though we might well be persuaded to give our aid to any League of Nations which accepted the principles for which we stand, we shall show no enthusiasm for a group of nations whose political wisdom and ideals do not conform to our own. We may exert our influence among those nations who are Members of the League; but we do not accept the position that the Policies of the British Empire shall be subordinated to those of a political-financial International conspiracy or to that of nations far less than ourselves. Great Britain owes it to itself and to the world that it shall take a British lead in international affairs. The twelve years of bickering and bargaining which have characterized the life of the League demonstrate quite clearly that as an instrument for peace it is useless. British might, vested in right, can change the complexion of the League.





SECTION IV

INSTITUTIONS AND CHARACTERISTICS

## HOSTAGES TO FORTUNE

Those Who Fought the War—Lovers of Peace—The Price of Shed Blood—The Home for Heroes—What of the Peace?—Propaganda of Lies—Justice for Injustice—From the Crucible, Refined—Dead Men Do Tell Tales—The Flower of the Nation—Comradeship.

## FAIR PLAY

Our Insularity—Liberty—Russia—Italy—Germany—The British View-point—Human Evolution—Britain, Awake!

## COMRADESHIP

To Resurrect Human Brotherhood—Comradeship Defined—The Intangible Always Wins—Landmarks of Personality—The "International" Means Hate—Comradeship Knows No Colour, No Race.

## THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA

The Test of Good Government—The World of Make-Believe—A Nation Divided . . .—National Socialism—Hate or Happiness?

## PERSONAL CHARACTER AND COURAGE

Nothing More Important than these in the Life of any Nation—Human Leadership—The Human Touch—The Spirit of Sir Francis—Individual Liberty—Love of Country—Fallen Empires—British Leadership—Sacrifice, the Science of Power.

## GOVERNMENTAL PRINCIPLES, PURPOSE AND POLICY

## HOSTAGES TO FORTUNE

### *Those Who Fought the War*

AT Armistice time I have grown accustomed to hearing and reading a great many speeches, sermons and addresses. Always there is the same note—Peace. Each year those of us who were of their generation are asked to remember our dead, as if we needed to be reminded of that close comradeship which enriched our lives, and which in retrospect for most of us is the only part which is not shabby and disillusioned. They preach to the younger generations do these plutocrats and politicians, telling them of the noble sacrifices which were made by the dead that there should be Peace on Earth.

### *Lovers of Peace*

The dead are happy, while those who remain have been thrust on one side, despoiled, broken, that the great god of Gold should be enthroned. The peace which is preached is not a peace of mind for the living, not that peace in which the homely virtues can grow to maturity, not that peace in which man lives on friendly terms with his neighbour, respecting his traditions and his customs, but one in which Mammon with its financial cohorts enslaves the world. They offer a charity which is not love. And in the year 1934 with blustering vanity they shrieked their banal outbursts; and with hatred in their hearts, they bellowed Peace from the pulpits and the platforms, while conspiring a new war.

I belong not to the ranks of the men who call themselves Pacifists, though of all perhaps no man loathes war more than I, and none saw more of it. When I glance back across the grim years 1914-1918, I seem

to see nothing but blood, I hear only the piteous wail of the wounded, my senses touch the stinking filth of rotting carcasses. I smell the gas-laden atmosphere, foetid with death.

I lift myself a little to glance across the parapet of disillusionment which has reared itself between the rich comradeship of my old entrenchments and the bulwarks of gross materialism of to-day, and I see the dying in No Man's Land to whom no succour can be brought: there are men engulfed up to the armpits in poisoned slime whose life-blood is ebbing away, there are others for whom exposure to shell-fire and to pitiless rain and frost has meant insanity. There are the battered bodies of my childhood's friends staring with sightless eyes upon blood-soaked stretchers: there are the comrades of my young manhood, pulverized beyond recognition, stricken on the firestep. These are inescapable memories, which, for me and for you, Front-line Soldiers, set the ambition to peace as a goal beyond all compare. We have not chattered of it, we have not used it as a catchword with which to inflame the crowd, we do not make it grotesque as a political opiate with which to dope public opinion which has no sense of our own memories.

Each year as I stand amid the great throng of men who shared in the horror of the Great War, I am conscious of something which is inarticulate, surging among us. It is Brotherhood, a comradeship which transcends class and position. It is one which leaps like a flame from out of the past. If we look back wistfully to days of incredible agony, and perhaps appear to treasure them, it is because man's soul was bared to his brother: there was equality in service and in sacrifice, though no one will pretend that there was equality in capacity and in courage.

I loathe these men who call themselves Pacifists. Few of them know the meaning of war, for if they experienced it at all, it was as drawing-room Dantons, to whom in the War years shed blood caused a



shudder, where to-day poverty and disease produces only a cynical smile or some introverted self-pity.

### *The Price of Shed Blood*

As, in November, I stood beside the classic figure of the David who is the Memorial to the dead of my Corps at Hyde Park Corner, a shabby little man standing on the curb touched his cap to me. That cap mostly covers a scar which runs from the crown of his head down to an ear, part of which is missing. In one eye he is blind. Once he relied on his eyes for his trade. He now receives a pittance of a pension and for nearly fifteen years he has been unemployed. In the first attack on High Wood he carried a machine-gun, and in the hail of fire which thinned a Brigade of its thousands in full strength to a few hundred stricken men, he fought until the shrieking metal bit his scalp and sent him back to that home for which he offered his sacrifice. God knows how he lives to-day: he will not speak of that. His pride, his hope for the future, his conception of peace is rooted deeply in the comradeship of High Wood. Reflect on that, you chattering peace-mongers! Use this as a text, you politicians and Press propagandists!

The spirit which inspired, animated and gave hope and courage to the millions who fought on either side was that of pride of race and of tradition.

Oh, Futility! Will the purposes of Christendom be better served by splitting hairs about the number of guns, aerial bombers and submarines, than by contributing to the world its right to live, its right to enter into its own material and cultural inheritance?

Is the god of Gold to be enthroned that men shall be shackled to the chariot of an all-powerful clique which squeezes, throttles, strangles the nations of the world?

Is it better that humanity should be enslaved to a soulless economic system, or that it should rise in rebellion and revolt against its imposition on them-

selves? While profiteers, chemical and munition manufacturers, and financial jugglers piled fortune upon fortune during the War, I learned that shed blood was better than a bank balance. While no promise made to the men who bore the burdens of war have been fulfilled, I have witnessed the slow vitiation of their spirits, the specious propaganda which has lulled and exhausted them. I have seen cunning politicians scheming and plotting for their own personal enrichment and aggrandizement. I have observed Ministers and financiers, cheek by jowl, privily scheming, and hurrying from one capital city to another stirring up strife, gripping ever more closely the liberty of man.

It is not to be believed that the dead have been deprived of power. "Oh, Death, where is thy sting; Oh, grave, thy victory?" In the Unknown, in which they dwell, there is the voice which speaks to us, their comrades, commanding that "we lift our eyes to the hills". It is now that they are wholly possessed of spiritual Truth. In a way, this Truth was known to us, also, to us who, on both sides, day after day and hour after hour, faced the ever-growing possibility of death. From the front line, from the beginning to the end, I witnessed this thing, I was in close touch with its manifestations. I saw it seed itself, grow and flower in the hearts and minds of men, thousands of men, not of one class, but of all classes. And because I glory in that comradeship, which in its day was the most beautiful revelation of Man Divine, the politicians and propagandists who would have you believe a lie tell the tale that I am a Militarist. They would have you believe that because young men in their twenties displayed the virtues of courage and endurance and through the exercise of sacrifice sustained the qualities of Leadership, these who were appointed to command battalions or batteries, and happily escaped serious injury, in the Field are those who desire war. These mealy-mouthed Pacifists, these highly-paid Press propagandists, these cowards who sit among the purple

and pomp, these are they who loose the war dogs, these are the true enemies of mankind !

### *The Home for Heroes*

Day after day for a whole year just past they have given us the lie, a lie sometimes direct, more often that of half-truth, evasion and suggestion which is the more insidious. There can be few among us who now imagine that we have any voice at all in the government of our country and of the Empire. As we communed together in the long hours of waiting in billet and trench, or as we meditated as sentinels, or in the Listening-post, it was so often of a different world to which our thoughts turned. As war dragged on, we began to wonder what it was all about. We discovered our enemies to be men like ourselves. We found the propaganda and the newspaper reports of our victories to be all lies. These have since been admitted by the "Statesmen" of the War period.

When they talked of a "Home for Heroes" that, too, was a lie. The men who had suffered did not return to honourable employment and to the security of home life. Some received a pittance of a pension, while the majority roamed the streets and roads looking for work. The profiteers cashed in their profits; others turned to jockeying the International Exchanges; while others transferred their profits abroad. They passed the hat round in the name of charity and collected cast-off clothing to cover the rags of men who were no longer wanted.

Associations of ex-Service men were founded with the first object that these men, in whom had burned the flame of patriotism, should enter into their own heritage. Very soon, however, crafty seducers became busy. They deliberately sought to destroy the comradeship which had been the foundation of these associations. Patriots who had been despoiled and broken became rebels, seeking sustenance in turn from each political power. The associations themselves

became centres of strife. Planned disunion broke their strength. Men were informed that "politics" were taboo: they must expect patronage and charity, but nothing more. They had no right to demand a voice in the government of Empire, none to employment, none to sustenance and opportunity for their children, none to demand the fulfilment of promises. Men whose nervous systems had been weakened by exposure and fire and to the elements were further weakened by starvation until they were certified as insane. Men as vagrants have been locked in the police cells: others eke out an existence as pedlars, begging from door to door under the guise of selling on commission, or by blowing battered trumpets in the streets.

Government is conducted largely by propaganda. It is a simple theory that if you tell a lie sufficiently often, men will come to accept it as the truth. No one will deny that the propagandists are clever: they dress their lies in various forms. Sometimes they are clothed for the intelligent man, sometimes for the mass; at others for the woman and for young people. The lying goes on.

The one marked feature of the greater part of post-War Policy is that it lacks coherency of purpose, and despite a good deal of dissipation of intellectual energy, it fails categorically to mark a single point. It would have perhaps done well to follow the wholesome rule: one thing at a time. One searches the Policy in vain for a clear statement of its attitude towards anything. Governments have merely wheeled themselves round and round, mystified their sense of direction, fired all their shots just to enthuse themselves with the sound and smell.

### *What of the Peace?*

Those who fought the War have a first right to know about the Peace. While the glowing patriotism, hope and faith of demobilized millions was hurried to the hustings in 1918 with the object of re-establishing in

power the same men whose false conceptions of statecraft and whose secret conspiracies had caused the War, the International financiers behind the scenes were plotting fresh causes for destruction.

The wicked and punitive Treaty of Versailles emerged as a crown of thorns for the living and the dead. It is a Treaty founded upon fraud and operated by force. It is a monstrous piece of political trickery and financial jobbery. It has spread chaos throughout the world; and it has unleashed the forces of Bolshevism and of Anarchy.

Even as early as Christmas, 1914, soldiers fraternized in No Man's Land. The British soldiers who succoured German wounded, and the Germans who rescued British wounded knew one another as brothers. When a spirit is winging its way to its God, you forget the propaganda of hate which may have touched the intellect but which never entered the soul. Between front-line soldiers there was established a common bond of brotherhood which nothing will ever efface. Lies may cast a gloom over it. It may be lost for a while behind the poisonous fumes of propaganda. But Right, Justice, Truth will live.

### *Propaganda of Lies*

We have a right to ask for what purpose many publicists and super-politicians pursue a path of propaganda and speak of peace in terms of hate. We may assume that politicians are not ignorant of the power of propaganda, for they zealously utilize its technique—the Press, the Film and Broadcasting—for their own purposes. They must know that the public mind is largely moulded and shaped by the forces of propaganda; and it can therefore be assumed and concluded that the politicians approve. Throughout 1933 and during 1934 there has been incessant talk of war. We who survived the Great War are more concerned than any others that peace shall be preserved. On medical grounds it can properly be assumed that since we were



physically fit to do battle in the last war, our children will be among the first to be called to national service to fight the next. Let us examine this war talk which poses in the garb of peace.

We are told again that Germany is the enemy. The facts are that, following the War, Germany was totally disarmed. Inter-Allied Commissions, on the most important of which I served, with complete liberty oversaw the disarming of Germany. This is not to say that no German buried a rifle in his back garden; but you cannot secrete heavy guns, aeroplanes and battle-ships. Germany was disarmed. Everyone with knowledge of armament knows full well that you cannot erect the plant necessary for the manufacture of arms and munitions in secret. Even the Metal Market responds at once to any excessive buying by one nation and would declare the fact. Munitions of war are manufactured by well-known international armament firms, to whom the nations of the world are customers. To convert a factory, as we remember, takes many months. In Germany the plant was dismantled and destroyed after the War, nor could it possibly be re-erected in secret. It cannot be maintained that Germany can be regarded as the potential aggressor. Were this so, at any moment the Allies could wade through the country.

We, ourselves, cannot disclaim our responsibility for the conditions which exist in Central Europe.

Great Britain, with France, Italy, Czechoslovakia and America, as well as other States, for the past ten years have been pledged to disarm. It is true that Great Britain to some extent has done so, and reviewing our unique Imperial obligations, we have reached the lowest level of safety having regard to the armaments of other nations. But this is beside the point. France, whom we saved, has added enormously to her armaments and has assiduously trained her negro African armies for European warfare. The French Air Force is the largest in the world. Allied

to France is Czechoslovakia, the new State of Central Europe which we helped to fashion, now armed with large forces, while beyond Germany's eastern border lies Russia, in a military alliance with France, with a gigantic army and attendant forces, immensely equipped! Not one of these countries has begun to disarm. On the contrary, these three, to which must be added America, have immensely increased the forces at their disposal. But hair-splitting about the size of guns or the number of submarines is not Disarmament, and no one but a fool believes that it is: and only a rogue will tell you that it is. The Disarmament Conference has proved to be nothing more than a cunning splitting of hairs, a political conspiracy with the one-sided object of securing a Treaty gotten by fraud, whose impositions have filled the hearts of men with fear and fury. But British Ministers must know these things.

We have a right to ask why it is that a strong and unified people, virile, intelligent, hard-working, devoted to their Fatherland, zealous contributors in the fields of Medicine, Science, Architecture, Hygiene and Art, are not to be preferred in the heart of Western civilization to a nation torn with political strife, corrupt in all its social institutions, on the edge of bankruptcy, eight millions of its population stalking the streets with neither bread nor hope, torn with anarchy, disintegrating, worm-eaten with Bolshevism and with anarchy. Does British policy desire Bolshevism in Central Europe? If not, why this propaganda? What crime is it that these people have committed that we must be taught to hate them so? Is it because they have cast the money changers from the temple, have exterminated the brothels, and have regenerated a nation in despair?

### *Justice for Injustice*

Is it because they are casting out the demons of materialism, waging war on mammon? We live in a

revolutionary era. Revolution throws up two types—the idealist and the gangster. The hand of friendship to the idealist will strengthen him against the gangster.

Must vested interest always have its pound of flesh? Why have no steps been taken to protect the producer against the Rings which both defraud him and force the price against the consumer? Why is not corruption in high places and in low made the subject for severe penalty? Why is the financial highwayman permitted to hold up the community to ransom? Why is the precious land of Britain allowed to lie fallow when we might be largely self-supporting from the produce of our soil? Why does the starving man go to gaol with hard labour for stealing a crust, while swindlers and forgers and Society shop-lifters go to the second division, retaining their swag, or are politely excused? Why are hundreds of thousands of men permitted to live in forced idleness without hope, while tens of thousands of aliens find shelter in industry, and others enjoying public relief are engaged in nefarious and degraded occupations? Why do not statesmen publicly reprove the lying propagandists, most of whom are aliens or persons in their pay, who, by stirring up hate among the King's subjects, are guilty of treason against the State?

When, during the War, in some last bitter paroxysm of pain from the depths of its Calvary some soul breathed to its Lord "Abide with me", it was not for the smug comfort of a fat bank balance or for the voluptuous caress of the night-club that it cried: "Hold Thou Thy Cross . . ." Among men who had never known what religion meant, to whom churches seemed as part of the organized slavery against which their souls rebelled, to whom priestcraft was a kind of patronage, there surged a flaming, but sometimes only a wistful, desire to find themselves at one with the Divine.

*From the Crucible, Refined*

You may say that the War was horrible, and so it was. You may say that it degraded men, but that is not the truth. If, during a few hours of relief from the shambles, denied the soft comforts of home and kindly human association, men sampled red wine and played the fool with desire, this was only as it were to cover over deeper feelings whose very beauty so near and yet remote seemed to appal.

And then the warriors returned to the sordid bickerings of the market-place in which the minds and bodies of men are sold and hired, at the centre of which stands the god of Gold. In the market-place spiritual values are at a discount, and no one cares a damn about the men who fought the War. They are left to stand in the gutters touching their caps for pennies while the throng passes by. Pensions are taxed, and those young men whose genius might have led British industrial enterprise have been penalized while the pampered profiteers who smothered up their profits have remained at the head of affairs.

A Government of honourable men would have made it a first business to see that those who had endured and sacrificed, rather than go in want should first be secured in positions in the public services and in industry. Not a bit of it. Young men who had thrown away careers, put aside professional studies and donned a uniform, were curtly informed by bullies that they were useless in the counting-house and knew nothing of business affairs. Others who sought to gain a footing in industry and craft were thrust aside by a not unnatural Trade Union selfishness, while ruthless employers, with greed in their hearts and with their eyes fixed alone on profits, would not lift a finger on the men's behalf. "We don't want to hear about your jolly old war," they would say.

"Tell us what's on the Tape. . . . Don't spoil the party; let's hear how you spent your Pa's leave."

That sudden wild release which came once in a while and took men from yellow slime to a white eiderdown was not marred by its follies: it remains rich with memory of those in whose company it was spent. And they, lads in their twenties, are many of them dead. Perfunctorily and pompously these politicians come down from their plottings to lay wreaths on the memorials to those dead.

While exalted statesmen whispered in each other's ears, fanning the war fever which unloosed Armageddon, the cream of British manhood was being sent to the butchery. While politicians wrangled, tens of thousands of men were bludgeoned, drowned and disabled at Gallipoli. While politicians conspired for position, sixty thousand men perished in one day in the Battle of the Somme. While politicians squabbled about loans with financiers, who, holding the nations up to ransom, demanded their pound of flesh, more than one hundred thousand men perished in misery indescribable in the bogs of Passchendaele. And while these same politicians placed the nation in pawn for three generations, Haig, as his chronicler declares, committed his armies to God, with scarcely a hope that they could stem the tide. Men came from the crucible of war, refined.

There are some of us who have not bowed the neck to Mammon. The piteous cry of the dying has become a tumult in our ears. As year after year knavery becomes more blatant and crookedness more shameless, the cry of martyrs becomes more loud. We must see to it that our comrades did not die in vain. It will have been in vain if Christendom is to be trampled beneath the feet of Mammon; if Bolshevik financial schemes are to drag the bread from the mouths of children and to commit humanity to the mechanistic life of clocked-in slavery. If that is to be our fate and that of our children, it would be better to go back to woad and to the witch-doctor. At least, then, a man might call his soul his own, as indeed he could when,



in No Man's Land between two fires, his life-blood oozed away.

We see quite clearly who is the enemy, whom we are being taught to hate. It is human virtue itself, the Christ of Sacrifice. Nor do we have to leave these shores to discover this fact. Men who give their lives to the testimony of truth are silenced: they can obtain no publicity for their works, while he who will debauch the public mind with bestiality is the hero of the hour. The man who proclaims the truth and whose soul is not for sale is muzzled and harried. It is not expected that a man shall really care, that he shall be beyond bribery and corruption, that he shall dare to accuse his governors with lying and hypocrisy. . . . His proper duty is to stand meekly in the gutter touching his cap as they go by.

### *Dead Men Do Tell Tales*

More than a hundred years ago Napoleon, who trafficked with the Rothschilds, boasted to Metternich: "I can afford to expend thirty thousand men per month." He spoke of them as if they were coins. And in these modern days statesmen speak of "cannon fodder" in the same terms. It has been said that dead men tell no tales. But that has always been a lie. Do we not sometimes in the hush of an evening or in that Two Minutes of Silence, which yet means something despite the scuffles of the Bolsheviks, hear their voice and see them as they were?

Our dead are keeping a vigil; and sometimes as I pass the Memorials which the dead so strangely seem to haunt, I am ashamed at the little we their comrades have done to make their sacrifice worth while. Let no one imagine that one life was given in order to make richer a single stockbroker, or another that a man who plotted in New York against England should become a peer of the Realm. Let no one think that one drop of blood was shed to shore up the banks or that one

man crossed the gulf of No Man's Land with hate in his heart.

There are a great many things of which we were ignorant when we went to war, that we know to-day, and there are many other things which we are quickly discovering for ourselves. The greed of financiers has made them overstep the mark.

They must let our generation perish before they bring a new war on the world. But never was there in all the history of the world such an era for the Get-Rich-Quick as that between 1914-18. They must have it again; and they think that because they are now possessed of all the means of propaganda in which the voice of truth is lost, that they can hurry another generation to the shambles that they may reap the harvest of gold. "We can afford to expend a million men . . . five million men." What does it matter! There are two millions on the dole. The price of life is cheap, very cheap.

Death indeed is cheaper than life and far more profitable. These propagandists and profiteers can be prodigal in blood to-day. The advocates of war are even more bare-faced than they were in 1914.

The words I spoke to those reassembled at the Annual Reunion Dinner of the Machine Gun Corps in paraphrase will serve you and all men.

### *The Flower of the Nation*

The Machine Gun Corps, dead yet living. Disarmed, demobilized, disbanded, yet united in immortal Comradeship.

We treasure a history which in its conquest of difficulty, even of obstruction, in its heroisms and in its sacrifices has no rival. Where other Corps and Regiments can summon the record of the ages from which to recite their achievements, the Machine Gun Corps is possessed of but three swift years of history. These years are an epic of Patience, Cheerfulness, Endurance, Loyalty, Courage, Sacrifice and Comrade-

ship. The faithful historian observes in this short period qualities which transcend those even of all the ardours of an Empire's battlefields. Each month, indeed every day, in our history saw fought out its Waterloo, its Balacklava, its Rorke's Drift—a Battalion "with backs to the wall" facing fearful odds; a company filling a breach; even a single gun team, six men, sometimes a single gunner alone among his dead, holding a vital flank.

Ours is a record of Front-Line Soldiers, of those who accompanied the first wave of every assault and who remained to cover every retirement. Throughout the War years not a single day passed but saw the Machine Gun Corps with its hosts in the Front Line. Here is a record which perhaps knows no equal.

We live under the shadow of a great tradition. For centuries it has been slowly forming. Lives without number have been built into it. The years have crowned it with power and with beauty. It marks the rise and dominance of the human spirit. From out of this British tradition, the Machine Gun Corps summoned to its strength the best which British blood and culture could contribute. The Corps was continually recruited from picked men. The Regiments of the Line yielded their flower, not always unwillingly, to the fashioning of the Machine Gun Corps. Both as an armed body, and as an association of men, it was, therefore, unique. The Corps represented—and necessarily so—the cream of the National Army: its own traditions were garnered from the rich stores of our Empire history. The honour of the Corps was crowned by the Colonelcy of His Majesty the King.

National pride comes very near to the heart of courage. Is there one who witnessed the scenes of the battlefield who does not recall instances of sure discipline, superb gallantry and noble self-sacrifice? See the set of the shoulder, drilled and patterned to a pack, which time can never efface. . . . Observe the eyes, puckered by the Orient's suns or with peering to

pierce the impenetrable darkness of fearsome nights. . . . Watch the gait which rolls to the weight of gun and tripod, paces to the drum, lilts to the skirl of the pipes. . . . Note the legs bent to the horse's belly, and the back bowed over the boiling gun.

Remember the Gun Team which so often somewhere in "No Man's Land", and beyond, beside its weapon lay dead, conquered yet unconquerable. . . . There was a lad at High Wood with one arm hanging by a bloody thread who carried ammunition to a close-invested post. . . . There was a Company leader, whose command had been reduced by half, who, at "Third Ypres", turned defeat into a notable victory, who before relief buried all his dead, and who is now a Bishop wearing the Distinguished Service Order. . . . There was a driver at the Hindenburg Line, who, the mark of every hostile gun, shot through the stomach and belching blood, toppled his limber with its precious load of ammunition into our beleaguered line and perished among his dying mules. . . . There was a Gun Team at Meteren in the crazy height of a tottering windmill which fought until the shell-storm overwhelmed the shattered skeleton of masonry, and buried the gunners in its ruins. . . . There was a groom on the Lys who rode the two mile length of gun positions through the devastation of the enemy's drum-fire that from the air a spotting pilot might mark his map. . . . There was the private on the Menin Road who, when officers and N.C.O.s had become casualties, took command of his Company, added a Bar to the D.C.M. and gained his direct Regular Commission in the Field. . . . There was a signaller who with many times mended line tapped out his message until overwhelmed by attack. . . . There was the artificer whose fingers repaired intricate machinery, while a field-dressing supported a shattered arm and the pioneer who built a stockade with a length of barbed wire pulped by shell-fire into his thigh. . . . There was the lad at Arras who crept forward in the darkness, captured an



enemy stronghold single-handed and turned the German machine gun against the enemy's lines, raking the parapets when our attack developed at dawn. . . . There are the records of the Missing, whose last history is unknown beyond the tale of the steady staccato of their guns when all else had retired. There are thousands of such actions which as a Corps we can recall. Hate war as we who experienced it must do, these memories remain a rich treasury. They were the day-to-day War Diary of our record from every part of the far-flung battle-front. We count them with unqualified pride. Such heroism and self-sacrifice are the background of the story of the Machine Gun Corps, and of it I have suggested but a fragment from my own memory. Such sacrifices are in the foreground of our National history—for Sacrifice is the science of Power.

Listen!—You will hear again the hoarse cry of "Action!—Fire!" . . . The ears are dinned by the vaunting chatter of a Barrage Battery, a throbbing maniac melody to the boom of cannon and the deafening clang of metal. . . . The teeth are set: the bones stand white from grimed hands as they bear upon the thumb-piece: bleared eyes hold the sights as the gun is tapped across its traverse, boring great holes in an on-coming attack. . . . Trained muscles of back and thigh of a Nation's strongest manhood respond eagerly to the urge to go forward. . . . The lone Gun Team, co-operating with all arms, fights its own directed, purposive battle, from the picked brains of a Nation's intelligence.

### *Comradeship*

Transcending all else was the COMRADESHIP of trench and of billet, of camp fire and of tent. We knew the quality of that Comradeship—men in sodden Flanders beneath the scourge of *trömmel feuer*: troopers who rode shoulder to shoulder at dawn before Damascus: Australians on the beaches of Gallipoli:



South Africans in the carnage of Delville Wood: hard-bitten pioneers who hunted an elusive enemy in the Tanganyika bush: Canadians breasting the ridge of Vimy. . . . Men from the blue haze of an English countryside; the Scots, the Irish, and the Welsh, from heathered hills and smoke-laden cities, wrestling with death on the Somme and in the Hindenburg Line. Bare-legged boys from shingled coves wading the mud morasses of Passchendaele: those whose cries echoed among the Dorian crags of Salonica and from the rocky peaks of the Khyber. Men who found an enemy among the snow-capped heights above the Piave: and those who faced sand-storms, thirst and privation in the deserts of Egypt and of Mesopotamia.

Men from the traffickings of an Empire's Metropolis: those whose mother tongue was in every English dialect and whose calling was of the field, the mine, the loom, the bench, the Press and of the counting house. . . . Old soldiers who remembered Darghai and Magersfontein, and were familiar with the "Bat", the *Bhisti*, and the "Blockhouse"; and men who as youths knew only Haig's Final Drive. Those who gripped hands at Zero Hour, and those who fell in mud and dust and rose no more—we knew the quality of Comradeship.

This year, 1935, will be filled with great events. We must carry Comradeship always with us, and extend it. Patriotism will have both a deeper and a finer meaning than it has ever had before. Love of country will not grow less, but greater. A new international order will not supersede nations; quite the contrary. It will build upon them. The part which each nation can play will depend primarily upon its own self-consciousness, its own self-respect, its own pride, and its own zeal for service. May each one in his own way be a bearer of our traditions. Mere success, as the world judges success by outward signs, I pass by. It is not worth having, save as an incident to usefulness. Our success will be judged ultimately by our ability to pass on the traditions of our Corps; and these I have named

—Patience, Cheerfulness, Endurance, Loyalty, Courage, Sacrifice, Comradeship.

Indestructible cohesion, best of all qualities which a Nation can possess, is based not alone upon hereditary resolution, but upon mutual confidence and respect. Here, finally, is that quality, which, in the relations between man and man, in good times and bad, marks and distinguishes that which is worthy most of our remembrance, and which of all other qualities is to be cherished and to be continually nurtured.

Mutual confidence and respect, more than all else, have contributed to the Machine Gun Corps its immortality.

And mutual confidence and respect can make of the year 1935 a year of Immortal memory—Courage, Sacrifice and Comradeship. The choice lies with you.

## FAIR PLAY

THERE are many reasons why British people may be glad that we are an island. Our geographical position has enabled us to build our institutions, measurably free from those wars of Dynasty and of Territory which have swept Europe, Asia and Africa; while the buttress of insularity has defended our people against alien invasion, whether that of great hordes or by infiltration. As the result, on the surface it may appear to a foreign observer that we have become segregated in mind and indifferent to world events. Such opinion is merely superficial.

### *Our Insularity*

Closer examination demonstrates that the opportunities which the British have made of their insular position and of their natural resources has developed in them a wider understanding of world problems and of racial repercussions than is possessed by any other race. The great Commonwealth of peoples which we have established and have endowed with our cultural inheritance and scientific technique is proof of this fact. It is demonstrable also that we have acquired from our insularity the characteristics of "Fair play" and of good-natured tolerance, if sometimes a little arrogantly expressed, which is to be discovered also in our traditional policies towards other nations.

Without the sea, England is nothing. Without the sea, the character and mould of the British people would be of a different pattern. Without the sea, the history, traditions and culture of the British people would be as polyglot and various as those of the people who go to make up the States of Europe and the nation of America. This tradition is inescapable, and it is discoverable in every institution which we possess. We

are liberty-loving, proud of our traditions, and over and over again have shown that we are ready to assist other nations in their difficulties and tribulations. The world is in a turmoil and we may well pause to consider what kind of leadership we are going to give to this world, and how best our natural characteristics, individually and in the mass, shall be permitted to extend themselves for the benefit of mankind as a whole.

### *Liberty*

Liberty is safe on a foundation of strength; and if we are to contribute liberty throughout the Empire, and make its impress felt among the world peoples, we must first assure ourselves that other peoples have confidence that our racial characteristics have been maintained, and that the purpose of our policies has not been subordinated to people and to interests who are unwilling or are unable to share and develop our national characteristics with us.

The question may well be asked whether the British people are willing to sacrifice individual liberty and individual will to the mass coercion of publicity. There is a babel of talk abroad; and demagogues political, demagogues literary, rend the air with hungry cries. The attitude of the trained mind is not one of acquiescence in the temporarily popular or in the applause of the new, but one of searching for those basic principles revealed in the structure of human society and of nature, on which alone lasting policies and institutions can be built.

Let us, therefore, take stock of our own institutions and in council together determine whether and in how far these may require repair and extension in order that a greater measure of prosperity and happiness shall ensue, that liberty itself shall be safeguarded, and that we shall give to posterity a better world than that in which we have lived. We witness a destruction of institutions, somewhat similar to our own, and often

founded upon them, throughout Europe and America. Due to inaction and obstruction by vested interests on both ends of the social scale, men and women of experience are being led to declare that such institutions no longer serve their purpose. Men of middle age, most often those who shared together the horrors and sacrifices of the Great War, as well as an immense host of the younger generation, are dissatisfied with the lack of opportunity which the Post-War political and economic conditions have provided. They are, therefore, disillusioned by governmental incapacity; while their spirits revolt against selfish vested interest and against the gross materialism. Spiritual force and materialism are now meeting in conflict. Certainly, as the divergent policies shake themselves out and separate themselves into guiding principles upon which men take their stand, it will be that force which contributes most to the traditions and inborn character of the British people which in the end will triumph.

### *Russia*

A brief examination of the world and of the attitude of political forces towards it brings us to clear conclusions. A revolution has been accomplished in Russia. No wise man can pretend that this revolution has brought nothing of value to the Russian people. A planned economy, education, hygiene and sanitation, for example, have replaced neglect. These things have been accomplished by materialists, to whom murder and mass slaughter were part of the revolutionary technique, by men who have never ceased to threaten civilization with war, by men who have built immense armaments and have unified a nation behind a screen of planned perjury. Russia to-day is the great exemplar of the materialist state. The destinies of the peoples are in the hands of an oligarchy, and the voices of the spirit have been stilled. Yet there is an awakening.

The tyrannies and social degradation which preceded



the revolution in Russia must have our aversion. Religion existed largely as a witchcraft, although possessed of its latent spiritual qualities. A Russian revolution was necessary for the health of the world. We may watch its evolution with sympathy, for the Russian people have in the past, and will in the future, make immense contributions to culture and to material prosperity. There is a tendency, however, on the part of a certain section of politicians and of the Press to suggest that Britain will rediscover its own destiny in slavish imitation of Russian Bolshevism. While paying lip-service to democracy, they continually suggest to the British mass that Karl Marx and Litvinoff are the apostles whom the British people must follow. The consummation of the Bolshevik political doctrine is to be found in the enslavement of the Russian millions to a governing oligarchy, a high proportion of whom are aliens, while the Russian revolution was accomplished with the financial aid of great international banking institutions.

### *Italy*

In a very different Italy from the Britain which we know the Blackshirt Army marched on Rome and seized political power by a *coup d'état*. They sent for the then obscure Mussolini. The opposition disappeared before a determined minority, backed by armed force as, in fact, it had done in Russia. The material, the geographical position and other factors in Italy enabled the social revolution in a manner quite different from the horrors of Russia. The Italians are largely an industrial people, while the inhabitants of Russia were mostly peasants. No fair-minded man will suggest that beneficial results have not appeared as the result of Mussolini's rule. Order has come out of the chaos; family life has been reinstituted, the arts and crafts reflower and planned economy has ensued. Guild Socialism has followed. But the work is not yet complete. Yet, while the same section of politicians

and the Press condemns Italy, it hails the Russian tyranny, which equally destroyed the Trade Unions and other native institutions.

### *Germany*

A further great revolution has been accomplished by the National Socialist Party in Germany. Anyone who troubles to study the Party Programme will agree that in many points it conforms to the ideals and policies of Guild Socialism. In some of its forms the new institutions of Germany are very similar to those to be found in Russia and in Italy. To submit the German people to wholesale condemnation for the revolution which they themselves accomplished, constitutionally, by democratic means, is to abandon the British sense of "Fair play". Germany was prostrate after the Great War. Revolutions and *coup d'états* followed, accompanied by shooting, bombing, and tyranny. The uncontrolled "inflation" beggared hundreds of thousands of their small life-savings, just as the financial scandals in France under a mockery of democratic government have deprived hundreds of thousands of sustenance in old age. The German democratic Parties were honeycombed with corruption, while the Press offered degradation in place of elevation. The German people were subject to perversions, financed by aliens; and their minds were never free from immoral suggestions issued as propaganda through the Press and other instruments, demonstrably for the purpose of dividing the people and subordinating their culture. Fair-minded men will recognize not only these things, but the fact also that we ourselves, in a moment of war fever, permitted the Treaty of Versailles, which not only humiliated the German people as a whole, but which also submitted the youth and unborn generations, who were in no way guilty, to the payment of untold tribute to International Financiers and usurers. No one who has ever seen the New Germany with an impartial eye will disagree from

the verdict that Germany presents a unified and happy people; that the cities and the Press have been cleansed of their immoralities; that virtue and communal service have been enthroned, and that orderly government has displaced the chaos of revolution, of plotting and of the revolver. The test of this verdict is to be found in the almost unqualified support given to Hitler at the polls, and after to the ease with which reforms have been instituted, and to the fact that while other countries, pretending democratic forms, are engulfed in upheavals, restraining revolt by the machine-gun. Fair-minded British people may not be satisfied with certain exhibitions of the Nazi regime. But it is the veriest hypocrisy for us to condemn a united and happy people, for this is a denial both of the spirit of Christ and of the doctrine of self-determination.

Revolutions, as history teaches, throw up two types of men, the idealist and the gangster. The latter soon betray themselves, while public opinion rallies to the support of the idealist, who is also a man of action.

We, in Britain, from the wider stage of Britain and the Empire, from a geo-political point of view, should have a wider and more realistic and intuitive grasp of the problems of race than were necessary in Germany. The German racial theorists could afford to be enthusiastically pedantic, since the geo-political position of Germany, for the moment at least, has a certain provincialism which renders it entirely indifferent from the point of view of real life, whether platinum-blond or blue-black horsehair be officially regarded as the condition *sine qua non* for its purpose. There has been expressed in Germany a determination on Eugenic grounds towards breeding "back to Nordic" again. From our island standpoint, however mixed racially we may be, we are defended in our culture by island traditions. Moreover, such an exaggerated hypothesis would prove calamitous in its political results in such a complex organization as is the British Empire. But we must not forget that "to understand everything is

to pardon everything''. Nor can we pardon those against whom especially the new racial laws of Germany are directed. There is no doubt that with understanding and with sympathy, which must not be one-sided, the position of those who immediately suffer will be ameliorated. But this will not be achieved through threats of war, by financial squeeze, methods which should be abhorrent to the British mind. More than ninety per cent. of the anti-German propaganda in the British Press is misrepresentation and exaggeration. National Socialism in Germany expresses a comradeship as opposed to the class war for which Socialism so often stands. An important point to understand is that the working classes support Hitler almost to a man. They are not only impressed by his success in relieving unemployment, but they feel an added dignity. But Germany, moreover, was disarmed. The Disarmament Conferences represented not any sincere desire on the part of the participants to disarm; but they appear to have been contrived, on the basis of bargaining, with the object of finding a *casus belli* with Germany and for the purpose of destroying Germany unity. Again such a policy is a denial of the British characteristic of "Fair play" and of the principles of non-interference and of self-determination.

One is obliged to ask the question, in whose interests is this propaganda being pursued, who are its authors, and who possess the financial power and the organs which are used as its instruments?

### *The British Viewpoint*

We are a tolerant, kindly, and fair-minded people, ready to recognize excellence in the work of every race and to accord merit to men no matter what their origin. But this is not to say that we will concede to any Minority, to whom we extend the hospitality of our citizenship and shores the right to impose their culture and institutions upon us. Such an imposition which



we must often witness in the Press, the films and even sometimes in governmental exercise has been achieved by artificial means, through the use of money power; and as the consequence we find British culture being more and more subordinated. This concept is opposed to the laws of Nature, themselves divine. Nor will we yield the gradual unfolding of the spiritual qualities of our race through many centuries and by means of immense sacrifice to the imposition and pressures of money power and all that flows therefrom.

It is remarkable that the tendency of a certain type of politician and of a certain section of the Press, especially those and that which falsely pretends to represent the masses, utilizes all its propaganda force upon the masses, urging them towards political affiliation with the Bolshevik oligarchy who control Russia, while the same force is utilized for the purpose of presenting the whole of the German peoples as being an enemy, led by unscrupulous villains. If Socialism does mean anything, it does mean Comradeship. It does mean an honest attempt to understand and be sympathetic with the point of view of every class and of every race. It cannot mean class warfare, and it must be imbued with the quality of spiritual leadership, as well as with economic emancipation.

We live in an age of abundance in which exists unparalleled poverty. Everyone who gives a moment's thought to the subject understands that there is no basic difficulty presented by the solution of the problem of bringing production into line with consumptive capacity. The thesis of Karl Marx stabilizes poverty. Nothing has been attempted in Russia to contribute to the toiling masses the fruits of the earth. Money power has not been deposed. On the contrary, it is all-powerful as a tyranny. No advantage can accrue to the British people from the acceptance of a tyranny of the Russian model; and since power is vested chiefly in the hands of International Finance, the mass of the people cannot hope to attain freedom from economic



slavery, and freedom of mind from subversive propaganda, until they have repossessed themselves of the power which, while they have been engaged in production and in making something of life as well as of a living, has been stolen from them.

As fair-minded people, we have briefly surveyed events and their conclusions in Russia, Italy and Germany. We find French politics dominated, as for years they have been, by the Comité des Forges, and France preoccupied with appalling political and financial scandals. Whatever else may be charged against Hitler, no one can assert that he is dishonest, insincere, or has profited from the office to which he has been called. Nor has he shown any sympathy with corruption or ill-discipline even among his own followers. A state is healthy also which has no beggars on its streets, and whose daily life is being pursued with zeal and in a close-knit comradeship. There is much evidence that the exhortations of many so-called leaders in British political life are directed towards inflaming the British people against one another and against other nations, rather than being contributed towards *uniting the British people as a family*, to enthroning family virtue as the foundation for communal life and to reforming the financial system so that the earth and its fullness shall truly be the Lord's and not the preserve of the money-masters.

### *Human Evolution*

As a Christian people, we have no right to elevate ourselves on to a kind of moral pedestal, and to exclaim as the Pharisee did: "Thank God I am not as other men are"—for, although we call ourselves Christians, we have never yet attempted to give effect to the Christ philosophy. Our so-called Christian civilization is a materialism.

No matter whether we consider Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism or Confucianism in the realm of reality, we all, so to speak, "start from scratch".

In many respects, the East has much to teach us. It would be the denial of evolution and of the Divine plan if we refused to admit that in various forms, whether in Ireland, Italy or Germany or in India, humanity is not discovering for itself, in the ways of Nature, and, therefore, expressed nationally, the way of spiritual fulfilment. The question is, are we, with the greatest possessions, with such illimitable resources, going to make the greatest contribution? In this quest, for it is nothing less, every race can march with us, but because of our resources, it is our duty to lead.

In passing judgment upon any situation, any circumstance, any people or any person, we must be certain that we do not permit our minds to be biased by prejudice—political, racial or class. As an Island and Empire people, possessed of unequalled experience in world affairs, contributing simple justice among many races who prefer the British sense of equity to that of any other, it is our duty to take stock of the world and of its peoples and of events, and to judge fairly. If we have permitted, as demonstrably we have, our own traditions and characteristics to come under the mesmerism of alien forces and ideas, then it is our first duty to accomplish our own national regeneration. Nor shall we accomplish this except from the traditions which have fashioned the national character.

### *Britain, Awake!*

The British people have now the opportunity, unequalled at no period of their history, to show to the world the essential and peculiar characteristics of leadership which in the past have contributed so much to the peace of the world and to the happiness of mankind. It remains for us, as a united people, to show to the world what from national unity, indestructably welded, we can achieve within our own commonwealth and as an example to the nations. Nor can any action prove so vital as one which will invest the mystic authority, now falsely ascribed to gold, in human and

communal right. The way of salvation for Great Britain and for the world is for Britons to realize their internal strength by undertaking their own Social regeneration. We have an urgent duty in spiritual responsibility to the rest of the world. It is necessary for her own sake and for humanity that the kind of gesture Britain can make shall be made. It will have more qualitative effect than any other people can exercise upon the direction of world affairs. But we must be true to our own traditions and extend them. We must be fair.

## COMRADESHIP

IN supreme moments of national history and of individual experience some all-pervading righteousness surges, uniting men, awakening the individual from the hypnotism of sloth and selfishness. The Great War swept across the world in all its hideousness; and each nation, and everyone of us, must bear his responsibility for it. As every true philosopher has taught, out of grief and sacrifice arise the virtues of the spirit. The greatest tragedy in all human history produced uniquely among the world peoples something new. An impulse for common service, the bearing of one another's burdens, mutual confidence and respect, selflessness in the face of difficulty and danger mutually shared, these experiences, common to all nations, discovered Comradeship.

Nearly twenty years have passed since this new sense of comradeship developed throughout the world. Ex-Service Mens' Associations have gathered its spirit and preserved it. The era in which we live is one of disillusion and of doubt. The air is filled with recriminations, and even within our own ranks the agitator seeks to debase the spiritual quality of Comradeship, while men of evil motive and by cunning propaganda seek to destroy Brotherhood and to inflame the nations one against the other. The old order of greed, of corruption and of selfishness is crumbling. We must carry Comradeship always with us, and extend it. Those in our ranks who sow seeds of discord are enemies. Sacrifice has saved the world. The narrow way of duty is still the broad course of human progress. That is our road. There can be no compromise in Comradeship. It means Love: nothing else. The

ideals for which we fought have been degraded in the scramble for power and for possessions. The part which Ex-Service Men can play in bringing true Comradeship into the national life will depend primarily upon our own self-consciousness, our own self-respect, our own pride and our own zeal for service. Pride of race and tradition come very near to the heart of courage. It is this quality, in the War years so fully possessed, which has suffered a slow vitiation. Men to-day lack the courage of conviction. The "Home for Heroes" has developed into a drab tenement. We have knocked on the door: *the time has come* when, as we have opened our hearts, we must thrust open the door that the spirit of Comradeship shall enter into the affairs of State. True, courageous, selfless Leadership is a thing which we understand. It does not permit of bickering and bargaining. Its determination is of zeal for service and of disregard for self. The need of the hour is for Leadership. It springs from true Comradeship. The measure of authority must be the force of Personality. Nor does Comradeship imply patronage or mere mutual admiration. It is something far deeper and far finer. *The essence of Comradeship is to be found in common service and in fellow feeling, in hearts which beat as one, in regard to human objectives, mutually sought, to be mutually shared.*

### *To Resurrect Human Brotherhood*

The power of this Comradeship has not yet been fulfilled. Were Comradeship, with its national objectives, carried right into national social structure: were Comradeship the key-note and main-spring of all our endeavour, there is not one true man who shared our experiences who would not join our ranks. For the first time since the War we laid poppy wreaths at Easter, 1934, upon the Munich War Memorial. The question was—and this was also the opportunity—were we, who found human Comradeship in its perfection, in the face of death, going to give all there was in us



to bring this Comradeship into the world? We went to resurrect human brotherhood from its tomb of fear and hate, because we were not willing to stand on one side and watch the crucifixion of men on the altar of war while it was within our power to resurrect Comradeship on the coming Easter Day. This act touched thousands of hearts. The German Press testified to British chivalry, and thousands passed before the Shrine. We have extended Comradeship where others during fifteen years have chattered of peace with greed and hate in their hearts. British Ex-Service Men, those of the greatest among world peoples, are to-day possessed of an opportunity, which to-morrow may have passed by. *This opportunity is to bring the Comradeship found on the battlefields into the affairs of life.* This is our duty to the Fallen, who are one in the sight of God. It is our duty to ourselves unless we will abdicate from high purpose and refuse to render national service in our day. It is our duty to posterity, for we must hand on this Comradeship to our children, draw them into its folds and make quite certain that no wolf in sheep's clothing within our ranks shall break our unity at purpose. *We must carry Comradeship always with us, and extend it.* As this was the world's spiritual legacy from the War, we are its stewards and custodians. Our country cries aloud for Comradeship. Shall we who realized and possess it deny its message to our fellow men?

### *Comradeship Defined*

Of what does Comradeship consist? Is it not a fellow feeling between man and man, which bridges convention, which does not know what class, with all its cruelties, means? Is it not the out-pouring heart, a sympathy, and a desire, an urgent desire, for communion of spirit which may be inexplicable? Between man and man it is "the peace of God which passeth all understanding"; for if you attempt to analyse, explain and understand it, then Comradeship itself

loses its spiritual quality. Among the mass of the people, those who are termed the proletariat, you will find Comradeship. The economic slavery in which they live has forced them farther and farther back upon a spiritual background. In their daily life, they help one another in a manner which the smug, self-satisfied bourgeois mind cannot comprehend; or, if it could, it refuses to do so. The bourgeois mind goes to its churches with an air of ultra-respectability on Sunday morning, but even this is less fashionable than it was, and the bourgeois to their golf courses or hog their motors along the roads. They contribute to what is called charity, advertising their names in the Press and upon prospectuses; and they often demonstrate their comradeship by driving cyclists and pedestrians into the gutters.

Comradeship is a spiritual possession. It knows no barriers, either of class or of colour and it expresses Love. Such Love finds its strongest opposition in the attitude of mind presented by men who live to exploit one another. The capitalist and economic system under which we live is the denial of comradeship. Character, merit and virtue are displaced in the interests of what is termed success. The successful business man most often is he who has succeeded in bankrupting his fellow craftsmen and driving them into unemployment, who has sailed as close to the legal wind as he can with cunning contrive, utilizing every artifice of force and pressure—in fact dog eating dog—with the object of destroying the livelihood of men who should share, and have the right to share, the communal life. And since this attitude of mind is possessed of no spiritual foundations, no unalterable laws of conduct, no spiritual urge and no guiding principles, it will accommodate itself to any circumstance or view which will allow it to increase its own material wealth at the expense of its fellows. It is the absolute denial of the Christ spirit, and no matter how it may appear to triumph, in the end it is bound to fail.

*The Intangible Always Wins*

The upheavals and unrest which we discover throughout the world to-day are nothing other than the fight between the Christ spirit and the anti-Christ. It is those who suffer most, and have suffered most, through starvation, unemployment, disease, loss of possessions and position and who suffered most through the War who have first discovered the spirit of Comradeship. It is sweeping throughout the world. The intangible is a force far greater than that of the material, whether the latter be expressed in terms of wealth, armed force, or massed publicity. Comradeship is an intangible. It does not matter by what name you may term the political and economic expression of this Comradeship. Provided that the motivity and driving force of any political organism is spiritual as opposed to material force, and is based upon Comradeship, that organism is bound to triumph. The intangible always wins. In Britain we witness a political fight between the "haves" and the "have nots". Vested interest on one side is fighting vested interest on the other. Dog is fighting dog. The forces of Capital are arrayed against the forces of Labour. For years this fight has continued, bringing only loss and distress to both sides. Greed for political power, desire for another man's possessions, and again greed and selfishness have been the political motive. Dog has been fighting dog. Where most one would have expected to find the spirit of Comradeship, though it is the impulse of the mass of the people, it has not been the fiery cross of their leaders. They have quarrelled among themselves. They have compromised upon principles which should have been unalterable.

*Landmarks of Personality*

Rather than exalting Comradeship, they have often debased it by setting one industry against another, and one class of workers against another. They have preached the class war where they should have

preached the common service of men to the community. They have truckled to high finance and have lent themselves as the lackeys of the money-masters. Mere capitalism, an exchange of political power and of wealth, has been their faith, and in consequence they have achieved little or nothing for the mass of the people. Had they gone forth with love in their hearts in place of hate, the battle would already have been won. Make no mistake about it, this is a battle—Right against Might, and Right will always be on the side of Comradeship. One thing only must men hate, and this is evil. Sympathy with the underdog is mere hypocrisy. If you are not prepared to extend to him a Comradeship capable of complete self-extinction, of social ostracism, of poverty and of sacrifice, then the Comradeship to which you pretend is a denial of the Christ spirit in you. Men say of Christ that he was a revolutionary; but it is not by accident that His message, and that of all the great divinely inspired Seers whose names stand as landmarks in history, while those of kings and queens are forgotten, has been handed down for hundreds of years. The world suffers its political upheavals, and Britain suffers its distress because men have not attempted to apply His teaching in the practical affairs of life. They reserve their Christianity for one day in the week, and pay lip service to ideals, or allow a priestcraft conveniently to interpret for them, forgetting the ideals on Monday morning and exclaiming "business is business".

### *The "International" Means Hate*

The message of the Seers in the economic field was directed against the system of usury and the materialistic concept. We, who would glow with Comradeship, must accept this message. We all know that Comradeship can bring happiness and economic salvation to the world, and we will give no quarter to those and to the system which stands in its way. The catch



phrase of "International Socialism" does not mean Comradeship. It has never meant Comradeship. It is founded upon hate, and the fruits of the "International" have been ruthless slaughter in the streets of nearly all the great cities in Europe and in the industrial centres of America.

Guild Socialism implies the Comradeship of men, all men, sharing the same traditions, the same land, the same culture, the same ideals. It means that Comradeship will everywhere be extended. It means first a recognition of the spiritual qualities in man, and that the Christ spirit is in his heart and not enthroned upon an altar, or personified as some glorified Father Christmas above the clouds. It means common effort for the Commonwealth, as opposed to men exploiting one another, enslaving one another for personal profit in terms of sweat and labour. You either are possessed of this Comradeship feeling in your heart, or you are not. It has no place for jealousy, for greed, for self-aggrandizement, for hate, or for fear. It is possessed of courage, endurance, patience, loyalty and sacrifice. It never knows defeat.

*Comradeship knows no Colour, no Race*

Comradeship is not limited within such a Guild Socialism to the British people. History teaches us that, for some strange and inexplicable reason, we, island people, are the greatest people in the world. Our boundaries are extended beyond those of any other race. Though numerically less, we have carried our culture and institutions throughout the world and among countless peoples. We possess one-fifth of the surface of the world, and more than one-fifth of its inhabitants come within our rule. This Empire is shaken to its very foundations. The desire for national sovereignty is expressed from every part of the Empire, and deeply stirs the multitudes of peoples and races within our care. Guild Socialism is a Comradeship which knows neither colour nor race. The



upheavals within the Empire are due to our failure to bring and extend among its inhabitants the spirit of Comradeship. Only have we imposed upon them a deathly pall of materialism. It is no argument for our righteousness that we have given them communications or hospitals, because without these things the peoples would have been less efficient as an object for material exploitation. We have withheld from them our Comradeship, and it is against this materialism that they revolt. National Socialism will give Comradeship as its first gift. All else must inevitably follow.

Comradeship, which knows neither class nor colour, is the acid test of the true Socialism.

## THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA

ONE quite sure test of good government is to be found in a contented and happy people. Among such the arts and crafts flourish, for all true artistic expression springs from the spirit, and it is an expression of its joy and of a seeking for the divine.

### *The Test of Good Government*

There is a widespread belief, fostered by propaganda, that government consists of law-making, of ordinance, of caveats, of police courts and of filling in forms. It is true that in Great Britain, and in other countries, government has degenerated, and is merely mechanistic in its processes. We find it so in Great Britain—a soulless, uninspired and uninspiring machine, administered by gloomy personalities, who neither understand nor are capable of leadership, and who do the bidding of the banks and of those who operate the exchanges. As a consequence we find a people upon whom gloom and uncertainty has settled down, who scan the headlines of the newspapers with ever-growing fear in their hearts and who are filled from day to day with anxiety concerning unemployment, with doubt regarding the payment of rent and mortgages, their health and that of their families. The slogan of the hour seems to be: "Let us eat, drink and be merry, for to-morrow we die." And so you find the great stores crowded with people for the most part purchasing useless trivialities, and embarking upon any and every wild debauch of spending which may give an impression of living. Let no one imagine that in these stores the public obtains something for nothing. The lifts with their attendants, the rest-rooms and the writing-paper, the gigantic advertising,

the flags and banners, the glittering signs, all this fairy illumination is paid for by the public who spend their money in the stores; and these huge emporiums pay gigantic dividends.

So long as people are spending money and living in this world of make-believe, so long will they continue to imagine that they are really living. But they are not contented and they are not happy. This riot of spending is but a vent for pent-up feelings. And the crash is bound to come—sooner or later.

### *A World of Make-Believe*

Great Britain and the British Empire will last just as long as its spiritual basis remains a living force, and no longer. We already witness the beginning of the end . . . unless British people will undertake their own social regeneration. No state can be considered healthy whose streets are filled with beggars and whose roads are lined with tramps. What we witness in our cities and upon the high roads to-day is a disgrace to any civilized nation. And so it has continued for sixteen years since the War. The nation is not happy. The people are not contented.

By planned publicity and by means of the mass hypnotism of a section of the Press, the public is chivvied into one stupid debauch after another. People have almost ceased to think for themselves. They sit enthralled by mechanistic music and by hideous sounds pumped across the air from alien bands playing in stuffy cafés. They flit from football matches to fisticuffs and in and out of kinemas, their jaded palates whetted by scenes of vulgar splendour and of degrading licence. The heroes of the hour are bruisers who have won mammoth prizes, movie-stars and any criminal who is dangled in front of the audience. The arts and crafts are almost dead. The skill of men's brains and hands, the beauty which they can contrive is of no importance beside a sweepstake ticket or the latest flourish from the Exchanges.

*A Nation Divided . . .*

Government, which should lead in cultural affairs, and which with firm hands should suppress institutions and spectacles which degrade the public mind and lead the people astray, has nothing to say on these matters at all. On the contrary, politicians appear to welcome and patronize such exhibitions, for they divert the public from watching and criticizing what the Government itself is doing behind the scenes. The nation is divided against itself. Hired agitators assiduously preach the class war. Ignorant men and women are inflamed against honest industrial leaders, men of inventive genius who have founded factories and industries, and are producing goods and services of value to the human race, while the true enemy of mankind, the financier, who chivvies the honest manufacturer from pillar to post, is free to do as he pleases. The politicians do not serve the English people. Far less do they serve England. They serve the money-masters, the International Financiers—the state within the state—those who play ducks and drakes with industry and with the lives and livelihood of human beings. These politicians do not govern. Only do they make the peoples of the Empire and the industries of the Empire a convenience for financiers and their friends.

Truth is muzzled, and the voices of those who would testify in the name of the Christ spirit is drowned in a babel of sounds. If England would be free and strong again, England must go down into the depths and rediscover its soul. Nor is England the only country in which one perceives a strong unrest, a sullen people in whom arises the spirit of revolt. France, the United States, Belgium, Austria, Rumania, Spain all totter on the edge of revolution. Observed objectively, perhaps it was fortunate for the German people that they lost the War, that the smug bourgeois class were stricken and bankrupted by the inflation, and that the mass of the people have

incurred the horrors of Bolshevism stalking through the land. From out of the abyss of spiritual bankruptcy, in a Germany wherein the Government, the Press and all means of popular education were previously in the hands of a clique of International financiers, there has now arisen a new spirit. The German people no longer hang their gods upon the walls, or keep the spirit of Christ for Sunday morning, whereon people put pennies in plush bags to keep a priest-craft going, for they have discovered the Christ in their own hearts, and that every man is every other man's comrade. Cannot we extend this?

### *National Socialism*

National Socialism is precisely what its title suggests that it is. It is first national in the sense that men take pride in their own racial possessions, that they glory in the institutions founded by the genius and frugality of their forefathers, that they seek to extend and further to ennoble their own cultural inheritance, that through the highest developed types they recognize that nation meets nation and that the world is akin upon a platonic and divinely inspired plane. It is national in the sense that the nation, without class distinction of any kind, recognizing character and merit as the only true national assets, displacing mere pomp and wealth and taking over the latter for the state interest, has welded the nation into a purposive unit. It is national in the sense that Comradeship is its keynote and that the virtues of family life have been restored to their rightful place in the centre of the national life.

It is Socialist in the sense that it is acquiring for the commonwealth the means of wealth and exchange; yet permitting individual initiative and genius to utilize such wealth for the national purpose, the individual, uncramped, being fairly rewarded for his services. But such Socialism, while safeguarding private property and the citizen in his home, does not permit alien



financiers to acquire the nation's possessions, or groups of foreign shareholders, or indeed any groups of shareholders, rendering no service to industry, to play with its destinies and with the employment of those engaged therein. National Socialism means the end of International finance, and the end of the system of usury. That is why those who obtain their power and wealth from the system persecute the new Germany, and are using all the great publicity organs of this and other countries with the object of suggesting to an ignorant and credulous world that National Socialism means to make war, a suggestion which is as fantastic as it is false. Every revolution throws up idealists and gangsters. To condemn a revolution inspired by a new idealism is to give strength to the gangster. You do not write the history of a nation from an act of violence in its making, any more than you judge the product of a sculptor from the hard blows which rough hew the crude stone.

### *Hate or Happiness?*

The test of good government is the happiness of the people. Every unprejudiced, competent, honourable witness is agreed that the people of the new Germany are happy and contented. So it seems that the nations of the world must overthrow this happiness, egged on by financiers who own publicity organs. The world must be reduced to chaos and the flower of another generation be plunged into a blood bath that dividends may be secure, to provide bonuses for the directors of armament firms and to bolster up a crumbling capitalist system.

If there is one thing which is worth while, it is to make the people happy, to remove the palsy of unemployment, to reinspire the British people with hope and confidence in their own race and in their own institutions. We owe this also to the peoples of the Empire.

## PERSONAL CHARACTER AND COURAGE

*Nothing More Important than these  
in the Life of any Nation*

THERE are names illuminated upon the scroll of history whose lustre is never diminished. They come readily to the tongue of even the illiterate. And those to whom the real greatness of these names means nothing, to whom history has never been revealed, and to whom the deeds and fame of these men and women has never been told, yet pay their homage as to an unknown god.

There are places upon which, sometimes centuries later, men tread as if in a celestial presence with a feeling of awe. There are piles of stone, some castellated and loopoled, others crowned with Cross or Crescent or by some other design denoting the divine. There are even hovels, preserved in their integrity, kept as shrines to which men come on pilgrimage—these speak of human greatness.

Many philosophers have invested the acts and lives of those whose names are thus illumined with noble words. Their many virtues, and sometimes also the very humanness of their faults, which has in truth made the richer the virtue in them, have been sung by poets and extolled by historians. But, lest it be overlooked at any time, let it be affirmed that the names of these great figures are illumined only at periods of racial history when the nation has been strong in its united purpose, and when there has been provided a background of strength serving as the inspiration to men whose leadership has secured them immortality.

Among all human attributes, that of Courage is the virtue which transcends all others, and in which all

others inevitably have their fount. Nor is this a matter for debate. Its truth asserts itself.

### *Human Leadership*

The panorama of Empires passes before our eyes. And as with hasty glance we observe the peaks, there is shown to us the epic age of Aryan rule, the majesty of Greece and Rome, the supremacy of the Akbar and of the Maharattas of the Orient, of Spain, of France and Germany and of Great Britain. And dimly in the distance, too, there appear China, Egypt and the Peru of the Incas. These epochs of great national endeavour have produced their men. Men, firstly of courage, to whom no sacrifice was too great in the national weal, who sought no honour other than that of the nations to whose leadership they attained, and whose course was never deflected by vanity, by the whisperings of those who offered the easier path, or by doubt and even despair as they witnessed recurrent defeat and sometimes exile from the land of those in whom a life's devotion was secured.

It is not the result of caprice that there has been handed down the pages of history the story of the Greek boy who endured that a fox which he carried at the command of his master should eat the entrails from his living flesh as he made his journey, rather than that his task should go unaccomplished. Such courage was the spirit of old Sparta. The abiding philosophies, which the name of Socrates and his fellow thinkers recalls, have endured as established truth for all time. Great was the spirit of Greece: no less the acts of Grecian citizens. The prime virtue which received encouragement from the State and among youth was that of courage.

Rome, with its Cæsars, some of whose characters have been travestied in order to provide a foil for the modern apostles of disillusion and despair, provides but another example of the exaltation of courage. One has but to recall the names of Rome to mind, in order

to envisage a picture of the Roman galleons, sailing uncharted seas, penetrating the ports of France and Spain, and Northern Africa, and carrying Roman Legions even to the far shores of England. Reflection upon Roman achievements determines the view that courage, as a worthy State ideal, is exemplified in the Heroes of the Iliad. The dynasty of the Moghuls, whose conquest swept over India, is rich also in its tales of heroism.

And those who will read the recorded words of Shivaji, the outcaste who became Prince and Emperor, will find in them high merit, and that kind of leadership which in statesmanship is so rare. It appears that men who are entrusted with human leadership, even if this be gotten first upon the battlefield in defence of human right and liberty, do acquire to themselves, as for their good, a full measure of the qualities necessary both to position in the ordering of human lives and for the consolidation of the State for the benefit of the future.

Indeed, though the historical record may appear to give an over-emphasis to the virtue of courage on the battlefield alone, as if this were a virtue to be discovered in the stress of war and at no other time, yet there may be something significant in the reflection that those who have shown courage on the battlefield—in an era when war demanded such a quality as the essential virtue to leadership in the field—have proven themselves to be possessed also of those qualities necessary to successful leadership in peace. If this were proven to be a truth, as profound as it was in the days of Sparta, of Rome, of Shivaji, or of Napoleon, who be it remembered was but a Captain of Artillery when he first loomed to fame, then the names of Mussolini and of Hitler may be noted as modern evidence of this point.

### *The Human Touch*

In days wherein war demanded of its leaders that

essential human touch of the battlefield as the only true test of leadership, we find that those who could penetrate the depths of the human heart and provide sympathy and inspiration retained this tested leadership in order that the fruits of victory might be secured to their followers. That is the history of the Napoleonic era, of Frederick the Great, as it is also that of Clive in India, or that of any other great age under noble leadership.

The greatest of all wars produced no national leaders from among those who commanded the armies in the field. Even Foch, whose dynamic personality galvanized the allies to victory on the Western Front, played no significant part in the councils of France after the War. Lord Haig, whose aloofness was a main characteristic in him, was so shocked by the indifference of the post-War national leaders to the claims of those whom he had commanded in the field that his character mellowed, and he reappeared as a man whose heart was kindled by every human sympathy. But he quarrelled only with the politicians, and failed to attain to any kind of national leadership, to which indeed he did not even aspire. In Germany, suffering the nemesis of defeat, no such leadership was found: soldiers, sold by politicians, were thrust aside by puppets flirting with the Bolshevik enemy. It has been left to an ex-corporal of Infantry, whose valour had been tested, to re-lead a people from defeat so that to-day, while the victors groan beneath the curse of false leadership and corruption, Germany has become at once not only the most virile nation in the world, but also the envy of it. Let him be steadfast.

Those familiar with the kind of hostility which Hitler and his associates had to meet, will not doubt the quality of his courage; nor, however much from a varying national standpoint of prejudice or of sentiment they may dislike the methods which Hitler has adopted, will they question his courage and sincerity. In Mussolini, too, we perceive a man from the lower



ranks of war leadership, but one who was in intimate touch with humanity, carried to a position greater than that of any Cæsar, and which pales the achievements of Cavour and Mazzini to insignificance. Within the space of a few short months, the world has witnessed Hitler succeeding, where over long years Bismarck attempted and failed. Courage has rewarded him, as it has also brought order, comfort, freedom from anxiety, and peace to the peoples whom he has united under his leadership. Let him purge again.

The history of the rise and fall of Empires, which to some minds appear as inevitable as that night will follow day, must contribute to the citizens of the greatest Empire the world has ever known, at least some vague doubt as to whether nemesis is not now overtaking the British Empire, even as Greece and Rome were overthrown. Indeed, there may be some who consider this end desirable in itself, and that the collapse of the British Empire will terminate an historical record to which their minds cry out in protest. Undoubtedly, there is a vast body of opinion, however inarticulate, which feels that British leadership in world affairs has yet some vital function to perform, and that the British Empire is an association for good and not for evil in the disposal of world affairs.

Courage, almost courage alone, with its fruitful display in all the affairs of State can render at this hour an incalculable service to the Empire. There are peoples, not alone in Great Britain, but throughout the Empire, and indeed throughout the World, who are looking to Great Britain for some sign of that quality, which to the marvel of the world not only secured the Western Front during nearly four years of War, but has led mankind for more than a century in all its affairs. There are whisperings abroad of the decline and fall of the British Empire, and there are other nations eager to snatch our heritage and to make of it their own. So accustomed perhaps are the British

to thinking of courage as an attribute of the battlefield, from its rich record in the annals of our race, and from the friendly contests which, inspired somewhat from battle itself, have become our national games, that we are inclined to prescribe the use of the word—Courage—attaching the virtue to this field alone. Perforce, therefore, we overlook the fact that the other virtues of the humanities are vested in courage itself, and without it none can exist.

In the absence of courage, self-sacrifice is stillborn, or at most is filled with the traits of sadism, mere self-infliction of pain, producing self-satisfaction, and closely akin to vice. It is sometimes claimed that all virtue must have its compensatory vices, and in support of the claim men are prone to bring the evidence of Mother Nature. But that is to forget that man is a god, of Nature but higher than Nature. Unless he be a devil. Such pleas are, therefore, but the excuses of the coward, and will not be admitted by men of intelligence and integrity.

Of all things it requires perhaps the most courage to possess integrity. Not alone the integrity of the market-place, wherein we witness so many painful exhibitions of failure, even among men entrusted with high public office and held much in the esteem of their fellows, but in the realm of thought.

### *The Spirit of St. Francis*

Perhaps it is more difficult to hold fast to ideals and to pursue them with unswerving diligence than to perform any other task to which man may commit himself. Living in an age in which popular opinion is goaded always by mass publicity, the man who holds fast to judgments, gotten after profound reflection and study, requires the same kind of quality which was to be found in the martyrs of old. Not that there must be an undue exaggeration of the motives which inspired many of those who in a later age became the idols of the public. It is rather the spirit of St. Francis of

Assisi than that of those who with their eyes raised to the portals of heaven found their martyrdom at the stake, which requires the kind of courage to which we should address ourselves.

Tradition and pride of race are very near to the heart of courage. Given a nation proud of its past, rich in power of every kind, abundant in contribution to literature, to the fine arts, to music, to philosophy and to education, eager in the advancement of scientific inquiry, quick in harnessing new scientific truth and discovery to the practical needs of men, we may be sure that the leadership of that nation is animated by high courage, and that its measures will be designed for the greatest satisfaction and happiness of its people. Without such courage, the abundance will be jettisoned in order that prevailing interests and the needs of human limpets of all kinds shall be served. Nor will the practical needs of men be satisfied without courage. For, here again, there is required much courage in the displacement, however gradual may be the operation, of those whose private fortunes and hereditary interests may be vested in systems which have long outworn their usefulness, and which stand in between new scientific discovery and the practical needs of man.

He who in advance of his time is sometimes called a prophet, and he who is behind his time is known as a laggard, but even the laggard appears to count for more than the prophet. It takes time, much time, in a democratic society for the public mind to catch up with an idea. The inertia of habit is powerful indeed, and it struggles mightily against change, even when that change is demonstrably for good.

### *Individual Liberty*

But it is not only inertia which exerts so powerful an influence over the mass mind. The vested interest of corporations, social and financial and economic, is possessed of the strongest instrument known to

civilization for the defence of its strongholds. Propaganda is at once a weapon and a complete army, and an army because great numbers of men and women secure their livelihood from service in its ranks. The forces of propaganda include the Press, the hoardings, the letter box, the Cinema and Broadcasting, all of which form as it were an artillery, which by bombardment unceasingly both day and night can pulverize public consciousness, wound and even slay the free will of man. With strength which may be contributed to it by financial interest in the form of a subsidy or through refreshment to its revenues by support to the advertising columns of the Press and in other ways, this instrument may become an almost impregnable fortress which only the bravest hearts may attempt to subdue. The liberty afforded both to the Press and to free speech may prove an anti-social licence of immense danger to the welfare of the State and to the happiness of its citizens. It is in combat with such an army that truth shall prevail that the highest courage is manifest.

Man conceives of liberty always as a personal treasure. Liberty is not a state which can be shared with others. The essence of liberty is that man, the individual, is touched by it, greatly or even little at all. It seems that the Legislative acts offered in the post-War years have been devoted in the main to the extinction of individual liberty, and the cause may be discovered in a lack of courage on the part of legislators. Beyond this, perhaps also, the cause is deep-seated in the system of Parliamentary democracy. The legislature of this country is made up from men who every few years must offer themselves and their services to the electorate, which has already been inflamed, goaded or subdued by the planned propaganda of vested interest. It matters little whether the candidate for election is animated by zealous ideals, or whether his intentions are corrupt and merely self-seeking.

From the outset, unless he be a man of unqualified



courage and of strict intellectual integrity, the politician must bend before the whirlwind of propaganda, or fail probably in the advocacy of his cause. The liberty granted to speech and to the Press, as we know it, may not, therefore, be the unmixed blessing which is its strident claim. This state of liberty, concerning which men talk so loosely, and in whose name, as has been recorded, such crimes have been committed, is the cherished hope, and in some measure the rich possession of individual man. Its corporate possession does not, and cannot, exist for man. There can be found no corporate courage without that of individual leadership.

The indestructible cohesion of an army is reposed in the quality of its leadership. Without inspired and courageous leadership an army is but a rabble which even the fanaticism of a cause will disintegrate. It is true also of a nation that divested of courageous leadership it will disintegrate and become the prey of every hostile force which seeks to obtain some advantage from subjection and conquest. The pages of history are tragic with the depths to which nations have fallen as the result of false, corrupt, but mostly weak, leadership. No less a student of human affairs than Voltaire has recorded that the collapse of government is due to its own suicide. There can be no cowardice greater than self-extinction and failure to meet worldly obligations. Men who fear the results of their own misdeeds sometimes destroy themselves. No white pall as a shroud can exonerate such cowardice. And this is true of government.

It is individual liberty for which men have always fought, and until men are free so to order their lives as free men they will fight for liberty with tenacity. But here again though there exists no corporate liberty, its ideal and inspiration can only flow from the leadership of one man acclaimed and exalted by his fellows.

The liberty which appears to have its licence is that of the corporation and the vested interest. Since all



time, good Government has sought to prevent monopoly, for its pressures and exactions are a gross interference with individual liberty. There is a marked tendency in these days that while the liberty of the individual is greatly extinguished, the licence afforded to monopoly, financial and industrial, has measurably increased. And men will array themselves against the intrusion which seeks to encompass individual life. This extension of the claims of the corporation can be observed in Great Britain, and especially in America, and the fight which will be waged against it will be bitter.

In the literature of ancient Greece, tragedy holds the foremost place. It was the graver problems of life, its deeper conflicts, its more hidden meanings that inspired to affect three of the greatest interpreters of human nature who ever lived. *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, *Euripides* belong not to ancient Greece, for they were given by ancient Greece to all mankind everywhere and for ever.

In a very real sense the building of character belongs in the fields of tragedy, for it, too, is the outcome of constant conflict between the individual mind and will and all that surrounds it, and that either invites or conditions its activity.

Character, whether good or bad, strong or weak, is something which each human being must build for himself. It cannot be had by gift, or even by inheritance, though inheritance is often a powerful factor in its building. But character which by any standards is to be counted as good cannot be built except through courage. Nor is character something which can be fashioned at once and pointed to as a completed product. On the contrary, character-building is a process: it reaches over the years and through them. Time and again even the latest years of a long life may crown it with some new glory. Thinking of this age the reflective mind will find in the late Marshal von Hindenburg an illustrious ornament of this glory.

*Love of Country*

Pride of Race and Tradition come very close to the heart of courage. We live under the shadow of a great tradition. For many centuries it has been slowly forming. Lives without number have been built into it. The years have crowned it with power and with beauty. It is a branch of something far older, that runs back till it loses itself in the beginnings of all things. It marks the rise and dominance of the human spirit. There are moments in the lives of every man when the influence of this tradition seems to make its impress most strongly. Nor can any man of any race escape this influence, for it is vested in his bones and blood and soul. It is, too, this influence which is at the root of national cohesion. Each one of us in his own way is a bearer of this tradition. Sometimes, especially for an island people whose whole history is that of the sea, it is the sight of the billowed waves which girdle these islands, which by some magic of their own strike that chord of tradition which resounds to pride of race. Or it may be the sight of rolling downs and heathered moors, or red-roofed cottages in the blue haze of the vales, or of rich loam turned by the plough, which provokes that thought glowing with its sense of tradition.

It is then that the mind, even if possessed of little historical sense, recalls its rough island story. We picture to ourselves the noble courage of kings, when kings were kings. We see the battlefield of Agincourt, on which King Harry with sword in hand led his English soldiers to victory. The proud Spanish Armada seems to refashion itself upon the dim horizon, and Drake with his captains scatters the might of the Spanish Empire to the four winds. Without the sea, England is nothing. Without the sea, the history of our peoples must be rewritten. Without the sea, British national character would be as diverse and polyglot as is that of the peoples of those lands which do not come under its exclusive influence. There is thrown upon

the screen of imagination the relentless pursuit of Nelson as in victory following victory he ensnared and destroyed the French foe. And lastly we see him in the cockpit of the Victory, incomparable, national idol, unflinching courage contributing to his life, even in death, a luminosity which in all the history of our race has never been dimmed.

Unsurpassed as is the long story of our sea tradition, other names appear in an immortality of their own. Cranmer, his soul burning with faith, meets the flames which lick his body; and John Hampton stands boldly before his fellow men as a witness for liberty.

The story of British courage can never be fully told. There are few unable to conjure to mind the epic of Gordon facing the murderous hordes of the Mahdi on the steps of the Palace at Khartoum. And in the humbler ranks of citizenship, we do find valour which possesses its full equality with that of men who were born to the crown and to high office. If Charles I, uplifted by inborn courage, won the sympathy even of his executioners, the tale of the mines and of the fishing fleet yield their heroism in the face of death no less.

Nor is it Death alone which has discovered in men of our breed, indeed of every race in its hour of greatness, that courage whose inspiration we must seek always to keep aflame. We find courage, although often in tragic circumstance, in men who were willing to incur disfavour, social ostracism, loss of position, for a faith, for a belief, for a conviction: in men, also, who were not ashamed to testify that they believed in something bigger than life. And this is the highest of all. Courage is a virtue of peace-time; a will to master difficulties; a virtue composed of quickness of mind, grasp facts, will-power. And courage is infinitely more rare than bravery. The man of character does not desire to please, he does not shine by superficial qualities which charm in happy hours.

It is towards the leader that all turn in the hour of trouble.

History notes the decline and fall of its Empires. We who are possessed of the greatest Empire the world has ever known, may well pause to consider from what causes former Empires have perished. Greece, which contributed to the world its greatest philosophers, the Empire which spread its influence in every quarter of the known globe, whose literature remains among the few classics, and by whose art the world is yet enthralled, has fallen into complete obscurity, its people effete, its institutions unworthy, its culture without any kind of influence. Closely allied to the fate of Greece was that of Rome. But here we perceive a resurgence in every realm of human activity which has astonished the whole world. The regeneration of Italy is based upon national tradition, and is embodied in the person of a national leader. Courage carried him to the forefront of Italy, and courage has enabled him to achieve what lesser men had feared even to contemplate. The voice of doubt has no place in the councils of a Mussolini.

### *Fallen Empires*

Writing of courage long ago, when Germany, rising to the greatness contributed to her by Bismarck, Fichte and Goethe, the then foremost authority upon statecraft, von Clausewitz, said: "Even foolhardiness, that is not to be despised." And this implies that in the affairs of State, as in those of homely matters, the will to experiment, to try and to try again, to take risks, to erect and to explore, to strike boldly and with conviction, to scrap, to reject, to change, these are the testimonials which courage requires of those who would be determined, brave, and it may be added, successful.

The Spanish Empire has disappeared. The conquests of Pizzaro on the Spanish Main, and the Colonies throughout South Africa have disintegrated and



remain as turbulent, unprogressive States. The name of the Emperor Philip remains aloof, now almost a legendary figure, who once courted Elizabeth of England. Velasquez and Goya retain the sublimity of their artistic triumph in the galleries and palaces of Madrid. But there is no Spanish school of culture which now electrifies the world. And if we turn our eyes to the Orient, there also we find stagnation and defeat. Peoples once great, whose Ambassadors carried an imperious message to the Courts of the World, have discovered a nemesis, which well may shock the historian and appal the philosopher who finds in their earlier achievement the inspiration which once coloured the world of ideals. The Pyramids and Temples of Egypt still raise their scarred heads above the sands, which as a solemn warning to men have eclipsed even man's work as man himself has failed to respond to warnings which proceed from the harmony of Nature herself. Scattered throughout India, Persia, and Arabia, crumbling in their ruins, are endless monuments to the greatness of peoples, whose names to-day the world scarcely knows.

The epic age of Aryan rule is one scarcely known to any but students of the Orient. Yet it has been the Aryan spirit, possessed by former British statesmen, philosophers and conquerors, which has made the British Empire great. Too few know anything of the Buddha as a statesmen and social reformer. Scarcely any are informed concerning the Mauryan Empire, the Kushan Empire, the Gupta Empire and the arts, systems of culture and of social organization concerned with their era. The breakdown of Indo-Aryan constitutional governments, under the stress of foreign aggression, was due more to the weakness of human nature, the failure of courage, than to the defects of the system itself. Looking at the monuments of British rule in India, no man can maintain that we have yet gone so far as Akbar went in restoring India to the full splendour of her former Aryan Civilization



in the 16th century. Akbar was at once a conqueror and a great spiritual leader. Britain has not yet equalled his achievement either upon the material or the spiritual plane. We may well pause to consider, lest British disloyalty to Aryan principles and ideals should inspire Indians with suspicion and distrust. For be it remembered that though Hindustan is scattered with memorials, whose artistic achievements are the wonders of the world, and though these memorials may now be empty, it is the grand ideology of Aryan civilization which still holds India steadfast in its faith; and it may be the same disloyalty to the Aryan trust which stirs the heart of India in revolt. In India to-day there is much room for the quality of British courage, for the impress of courageous personality.

There are two different ways in which any great question which involves national pride and national interest may be approached. One is in a spirit of confidence and good faith and hope. The other is in a spirit of suspicion and jealousy and fear. Both are intangible. And the contest for the government of the world and for the heart of mankind is between these.

It will be an intangible that will rule the world, and it is for public opinion to determine whether the choice shall be of an intangible which is lofty and fine and noble and helpful to all mankind, or whether it shall be an intangible that is low and mean and jealous and selfish and grasping. The world stands at the cross-roads, and it must choose the road which it will travel towards one or other of these two intangibles.

The empty citadels of India are a grim warning to those who fail to make much of national tradition and suffer courage to be displaced by ease, and the concomitants of ease, which inevitably include legislation which transposes individual responsibility to the State.

### *British Leadership*

Perhaps it may appear that these observations are

a far cry from the study of Courage. It may be more enthralling and spectacular to discover this virtue in the age of Chivalry, or even illuminating the dark horrors of the modern battlefield. Yet courage is a virtue more essential in an age wherein clear thinking and integrity, both moral and intellectual, are at a discount, than perhaps at any earlier period in the history of the human race. Modern armament and the mechanized conditions of modern warfare seem to have removed from its high place the leadership whose first condition was that of courage. The early Aryan invaders of India, who won the undying veneration of the people, were not only successful soldiers, but also mighty seers and leaders of men. There is a tendency to construct history upon a scientific basis: let not the scientist forget that the master builder must be an artist as well as a mathematician. The historian, totally misunderstanding the ideals which inspired the mind of a people, may use his material with the utmost scientific skill, but the result will hardly be anything but a complete falsification and travesty of the most vital and informing historical truths.

No less in the history of the British race is it true, in measure at least, that the great leaders of the battlefield have been something more than men in whom was vested the ardent spirit of physical courage. The soldiers of Great Britain are heirs to profound traditions. The glories of their predecessors, the Regiments of Marlborough, of Wellington and of Clyde, have fallen upon them like a prophets' mantle. There may have been soldiers' battles; but there has never been a soldiers' campaign. Even the most enthusiastic patriots must be led; and leadership requires qualities of a far higher order than mere defiance of death.

It is an easier thing for the brave man to offer his life, sure of its shrine in the tradition of family and of race, than to endure contempt and persecution for opinions honourably held. It requires, also, a higher standard of courage to wage a campaign for the

things which are just and honourable, in the face of an enemy which, because his precepts are founded upon injustice and dishonour, will, therefore, utilize means, material, tactics and strategy, which to just and honourable men are abhorrent. Force must be met by force: but wrong ideas can only be met by right ideas. And of the two battles thus envisaged, the latter requires the higher courage.

The possession of courage cannot be divorced from racial pride and tradition. Courage is an individual possession, and there is no such thing as corporate courage, except it be led. One may observe the unqualified bravery of the Highland clans on Culloden Field, but it is not to be denied that the sacrifices of that hour found their focus in the leadership of the chieftains. And though at Omdurman, or from the fastnesses of the Atlas Mountains, tribesmen have charged down to Paradise, their fearless heroism has been centred in the sheikhs and in the mullahs.

The Aristocratic conception is of tremendous importance to the present age, for the true appreciation of this principle will open the mind to an understanding of the political phenomena which are finding repetition and resurgence throughout all the world. The root idea of the Aristocratic conception of society is that men group themselves together and are quickened only by a living person—they cannot be united by an idea, except as embodied in a man.

With such reflections in mind, memory may again sweep over the long story of the human race. We remember the Roman, Regulus, who, keeping his plighted word, went back to certain torture at the hands of the Carthaginians. There is Nicholson, whose name perhaps is a little lost in the maze of Indian history. But his was a courage of no mean order, for he fought malaria as well as mutineers. And for long years a man whose name has yet to be illuminated upon the scholl of Humanity is he who

also fought malaria but also those greater diseases of officialdom, ignorance and selfish obstructiveness—Ronald Ross, and he is one of the immortals.

Another man, forced to fight front and rear with a two-edged sword, was Lord Haig. Whatever he may have missed in other human qualities, his courage, sharpened in conflict with the German enemy, with the contrariness and often open hostility of French politicians and those at home, is a shining example of equal fortitude. And in other spheres, one may think of Captain Oates who went to certain death in the blinding blizzard of the South Pole; and Mallory and Irvine who struggled to gain the last few feet to the summit of Mount Everest and were lost for ever; or of the airmen, some who still live and others who have perished, who have charted new voyages of discovery in an element whose vicissitudes are as yet so little understood.

### *Sacrifice, the Science of Power*

The need for courage in these immediate years was never greater.

There must be a parting of the ways in many things. Friendships may be broken, business associations be severed. Habits of mind and of body will have to be ruthlessly put aside. And these things require courage. It needs courage to state openly before men that certain things which may have been a habit of life can no longer be done, because they are harmful to a principle. To resist easily-gotten wealth and methods of acquiring position and of property, which, according to the code for which a National Co-operative State stands, are wrong—that too requires courage.

It is easy to follow the crowd. But to lead the attack: this requires courage, the courage of confidence, for the crowd will follow right rather than wrong. Let us never forget that Sacrifice is the Science of Power. Money is not power because it cannot purchase one human soul. The Crucifixion was the

symbol of this science; and its power has spread throughout the world. It is going to capture the world. In this hour let men have courage, to break, if necessary, with old associations; to face ignorance and evil which will cry the word "traitor"; to incur social ostracism and by doing so to find the friendship of men; to be pilloried in Society, and to hear men whisper falsehoods about them and spread any tales calculated to damage their reputation among patriots. It requires courage, far greater than that of the battlefield, to face such an enemy.

In these years true courage will be found.

To summarize, the Policies which should be pursued are those recited hereunder. Some of these can be accomplished almost by a stroke of the pen. They require the Will to do. Intelligent, sane, and experienced men are agreed that we are heading for a crash. Faith in Institutions and in the Power of the human organizations which we possess has been weakened. There are too many drones, old and young, in high places. Courage and integrity are the need. The Will, possessed of these, can accomplish these Policies for the good of mankind.



## GOVERNMENTAL PRINCIPLES PURPOSE AND POLICY

To provide an exposition of British national policy. To give expression to the real desires of the heart of the people. To recite sound principles of National and Imperial Government. To foster individual initiative, as the most prized characteristic of the British race.

To effect such changes in the Financial System with the object of relating consumption with production. To eliminate poverty which is wholly unnecessary.

By means of a changed Financial technique—and through public control of the Banking system—to raise the standard of life of the whole community, possessing for the people the fruits of the earth and the results of their own labour.

To eliminate the System of Usury; and to replace it by a technique of Distribution founded upon productive capacity, embracing Monetary Reform.

To protect the British worker, whether of brain or hand, inside his own craft or profession. To expose and crush, through a public opinion informed by Truth, those alien forces which have divided the British people by class warfare. To establish the principle that the citizen is responsible for the State, and the State for the citizen, without class distinction of any kind—the Means Test in such a state is an abomination.

To achieve the objective of a 40 or 30 Hour Week. The object first is that invention and scientific discovery shall be utilized to relieve man from mere toil. As it is, Labour-saving machinery produces only unemployment and higher profits for financiers. Second, in a mechanized age the population shall have the relief necessary to physical and mental well-being for the development of cultural pursuits. Third, that

a great number more men shall be reabsorbed into industry as an immediate relief of unemployment. The sound Policy is also systematically to reduce the number of working hours throughout industry, as Science yields its marvels.

To pursue a policy of National Regeneration, and in pursuance of this policy to secure government by men of British race, whose first interest will be the preservation of the British character and the satisfaction of the needs of British people, both cultural and economic, as the first condition of that policy. To secure that the great agencies of public opinion, whether publicly or privately owned—the Press, the Cinema, Broadcasting, National Education, Literature, Art—shall be cleansed of subversive propaganda and be directed to the elevation of the character of the people.

To curtail the subversive activities of International Finance throughout the economic and cultural system.

No State can be regarded as healthy while beggars are on its streets and women must sell themselves to obtain a livelihood. Newspapers and cinemas produce degrading nonsense and news is falsified in alien interests and in those of International Finance. The state must be purged.

To declare an Imperial policy which, while recognizing the sovereign rights of every race, will continue to fulfil the duties which those who founded the British Empire have imposed upon posterity.

To demonstrate that the standard of life of the British people can only be secured by the united service to the State of all workers. To remove from the body politic parasitic agencies. To declare that men of alien race, in every sphere of public activity, on both ends of the scale, are concerned in an attack upon the idealistic and material heritage of the British race in the interests of their own International organizations. To secure that the only test of citizenship is that of honourable labour.

To remove restrictions upon the eternal liberty of those of British race, while imposing restrictions upon aliens in political and cultural spheres; and to exclude foreigners from employment in the economic sphere except as employees of foreign firms with whom we have trading relations, until the needs of British citizens are fully satisfied.

To require the Stock Exchanges to secure for the producer the rewards of his labour, by the elimination of parasitic middlemen who extract immense profits between producer and consumer. To safeguard the honest trader.

To separate the policies of the British Empire from all associations which do not directly contribute to the happiness, cultural development and material prosperity of the British people. To eliminate war debts. To foster British and Empire trade. To raise the standard of life and culture of all peoples within the British Empire and to meet them in a spirit of mutual confidence and respect.

To establish Foreign Relations of the most favoured kind with those nations whose cultural ideals and practical policy inclines most nearly to our own. No alliance with unrepentant criminals.

To revise the Treaty of Versailles and its subsidiary Treaties in accordance with the ideals for which British men undertook arms, and in pursuance of the traditional British policy of "Fair play".

In International Affairs to make the voice of Britain heard so that through British leadership there shall be Peace.

To set up a Ministry of National Defence, thereby producing co-ordinated efficiency and considerable economies. The present three Ministries are both extravagant and inefficient to keep peace.

To reorganize the Police Service on a National basis. To reform the Prison System.

To enact that the salaries of those servants entrusted with the mission of National Leadership shall be

administered by a public Trust permanently instituted for the purpose; and further, that the acceptance of service in the Ministry (Cabinet) of the country permanently debars such Ministers from activity in the commercial and financial field.

To reform the House of Commons in such a way that it will become truly representative, through Personality, of the National life—of its industry and of its culture.

To reform the House of Lords so that, without class distinction, it shall be an Assembly of Elders, charged with the conservation of what is traditional of British cultural life; and to act as proven experts in matters affecting the welfare of the Empire and the organization of industry.

To make such modifications in the Electoral System that the people shall be enabled to record their opinion precisely upon each national issue as it presents itself; and separately upon matters of sectional interest which affect their own lives. This is to purify and make truly effective the Democratic system. To elevate Personality and Character, to displace mere wealth from governmental control and office.

To enable litigants equally to obtain Justice before the Courts, where, at present, a poor man, owing to immense costs, can seek no redress for injustice against mighty corporations and the rich.

To enact that honours which flow from the Throne shall not be bestowed on account of gifts of money contributed to political movements and parties, this being only a gross form of bribery and corruption. The gift of honours shall be in the gift of the Throne alone. Consistent with the construction of the State, such honours will be, therefore, the reward for services to the State.

The Throne is the focus of the association of Empire peoples. The purpose is to exalt it.

To eliminate from public life Corrupt Practices. To enact that Councillors and Officials entrusted with

Public Funds will be held guilty of "Treason against the People" if found guilty of corrupt practice or bribery. The suborning of Officials and subordinates to be held equally treasonable.

To fight any attempt to impose a Dictatorship in the interests of a financial oligarchy upon Great Britain and the Empire. To conserve, purify and develop the democratic ideal, through the exaltation of Personality.

By developing the policy of Insurance into one of National Industrial Insurance, to secure every man in his own home. To introduce the principle of profit-sharing throughout industry, so that the industrial welfare of the country, advantaging itself of British characteristics, may develop on the basis of frugality, sacrifice, and initiative of its best citizens. To maintain a fair-wage standard. To eliminate from industry such oppressive and anti-social factors as Mining Royalties, Way Leaves, rising rents based upon a rising value of Urban land, occasioned by the natural development of population and of industry. To make the open spaces accessible to the people.

To make it illegal for alien persons and Corporations to possess, directly and indirectly, control over British national wealth, the Press, education, the Cinema and other cultural instruments. No alien to own British land.

To destroy all Movements and Associations, on both ends of the social scale, whose objectives are directed towards class warfare, and which foment war.

To so order the Educational system that class divisions shall be eliminated, and that the State, industry and the professions will have available to them the highest character and the best brains nurtured through the process of education in its various forms and stages.

To establish the people in homes worthy of a great Nation.

To provide recreation and entertainment for the



people designed to recapture the traditional spirit of "Merrie England", and to revive the true Guild Spirit in labour of all kinds. To foster British art, literature, music and the hand and home-crafts. To instal the true spirit of "sportsmanship", through which the virtues of the British race are conveyed in every field of manly endeavour.

To develop a policy of National Physical Training. To extend national facilities for tramping and camping. Through the Education System to teach pride of body and of race. To keep actively alive the traditional dances and songs, through the organization of Moots. To cleanse Sport of those elements which would reduce it to mere commercialism.

To remove the Vested Interest of Corporations and Classes from the field of politics, and to reserve this interest absolutely to the British national interest as a whole, and to persons and associations untainted by the alien and whose concern alone is National and Imperial Unity and welfare.

To bring up the nation in the spirit of true religion. To nurture and extend the true spirit of Christian ethics in the affairs of life, wherever British influence is to be found.

To unite the Nation in Comradeship, each contributing to the commonwealth in accordance with his ability and experience, under Government pledged to the fulfilment of this Policy, without compromise.

These things should be the resolve of a National Government. Men must give effect to them.



# EXCERPTS FROM PRESS REVIEWS and other critics of the work of the Author,

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(Graham Seton)

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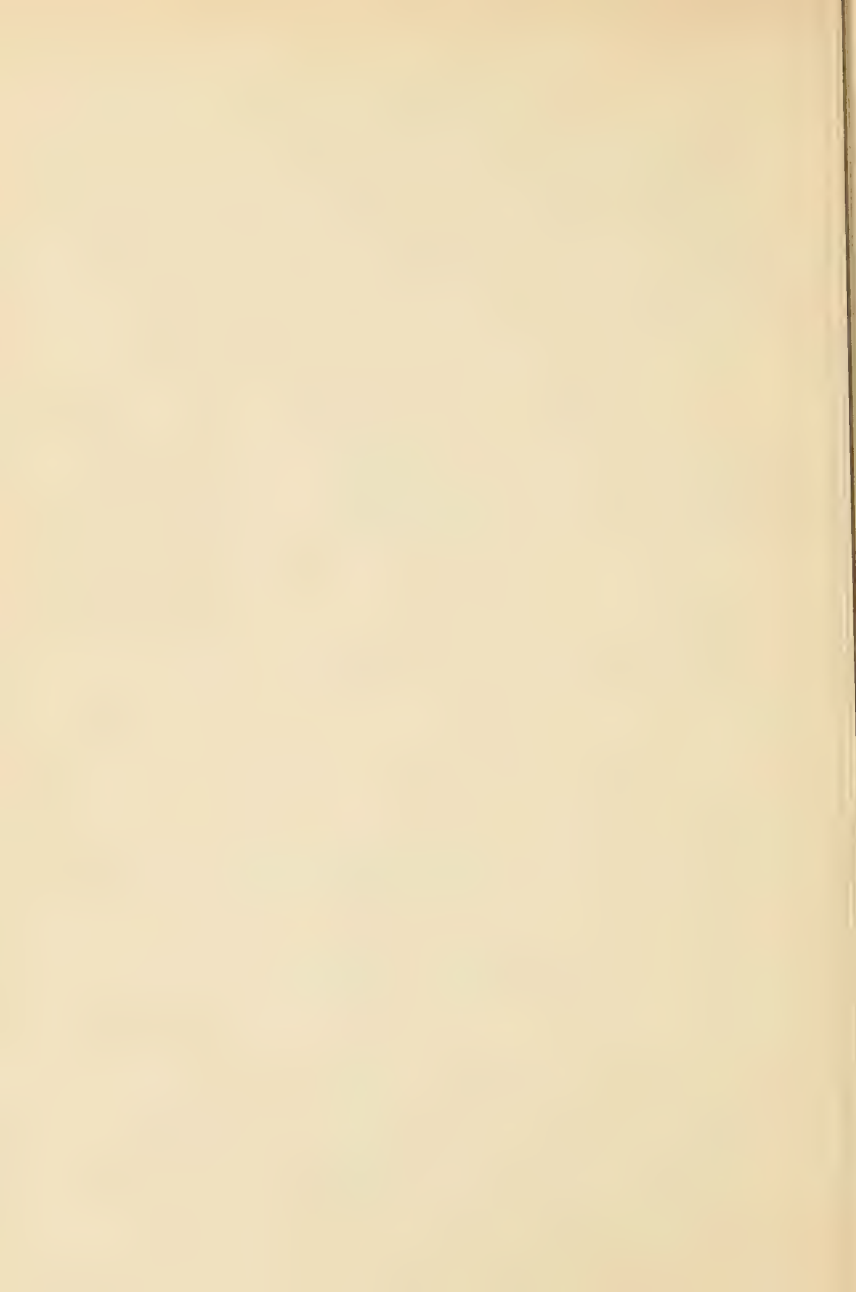
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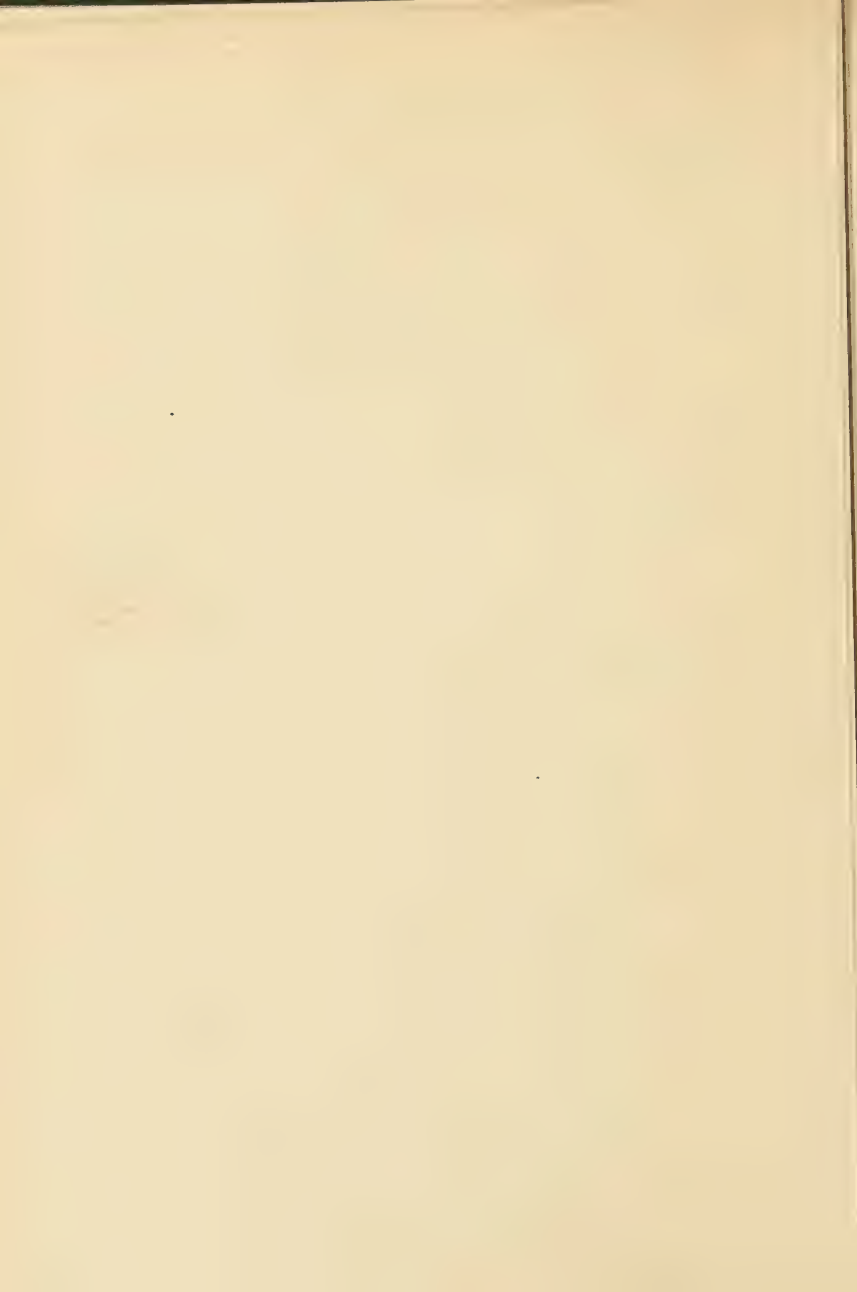
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*Page Twenty-Seven*

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*Page Thirty-Four*

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